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FRENCH INTEREST IN THE SPANISH EMPIRE DURING THE MINISTRY OF THE DUC DE CHOISEUL, 1759-1771

The importance of the rôle played by the Spanish empire in the general economic and political life of Europe is one aspect of Hispanic-American history which is only just beginning to be satisfactorily covered.¹ The exploits of Drake, the two Hawkins, Raleigh, Piet Heyn, and the buccaneers and freebooters have been recounted time after time and have often grown in the telling, but less attention has been devoted to the fundamental reasons which led non-Hispanic nations to show lively and continuous interest in Brazil and the Spanish colonies for a period of almost three hundred years. Throughout that time the will-o'-the-wisp of an English empire in Mexico or of French control of the Peruvian mines could

¹ The beginnings of a thorough study of French trade in Cádiz have been laid by A. Girard, *Le commerce français à Seville et à Cadix au temps des Hapsbourgs* (Paris, 1932), and by H. Sée, "Documents sur le commerce de Cadix, 1691-1752," in *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, XIX (1926), 465-520, continued in *ibid.*, XX, No. 1 (1927), 33-80, and XX (1927), 259-276. The same author's "Esquisse de l'histoire du commerce français à Cadix au xviii^e siècle," in *Revue de l'histoire moderne*, No. 13 (jan.-fév., 1928), 13-31, his "Le commerce maritime de Saint Malo d'après les papiers des Magon," in *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire du commerce et de l'industrie*, 9e série (1925), and his "Histoire du commerce des toiles du Bas Maine dans la première moitié du xviii^e siècle," in *ibid.*, 10e série (1926) are also important. E. W. Dahlgren's *Relations commerciales et maritimes entre la France et les côtes de l'océan Pacifique* (Paris, 1909) is a useful study of the direct trade. British interest can be studied in part in J. O. McLachlan, *Trade and Peace with Old Spain, 1667-1750* (Cambridge 1940), and in R. Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739-1763* (Oxford, 1936). See also I. A. Wright, "Rescates: with special reference to Cuba, 1599-1610," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, III (1920), 333-361.

always find followers, but usually the desire for political control of the Spanish empire was small.² The really powerful drives were commercial, not political.

Most obvious was the desire for gold and silver. This was not motivated merely by necessities of internal circulation, for much of Europe's external trade was dependent upon an adequate supply of bullion. Thus until the end of the eighteenth century British trade with India³ and French trade with the Levant⁴ were both dependent in various degrees upon bullion export. Less obvious, but equally important, was the desire for supplies of other raw materials. Thomas Gage, the English Jesuit who spent part of his life unenthusiastically ministering to the spiritual needs of the subjects of the Spanish Crown, was well aware of the material wants of his fellow countrymen. He warned the Spaniards that the British would sell their souls for the dyewoods and hides of the Indies,⁵ and he did not greatly exaggerate. The Spanish empire was the one area from which European nations could obtain for their expanding economies adequate supplies of the precious metals and of equally important dyes, hides, and drugs.

The possibility of the development of the Spanish empire as a market for their manufactured goods also claimed the attention of European traders. For many years, indeed, the Spanish Indies were really the only countries for fruitful European exploitation as sales areas. Africa was useful for little save the slave trade, and even that was dependent for its markets upon the Americas. The French and British colonies in North America were too young to offer much of a market, and they had no important raw materials. Asia offered an enormous market and valuable returns, but most Asiatic produce had to be paid for in cash or bullion, which could be

² But see Pares, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-77; H. W. V. Temperley, "The relations of England with Spanish America, 1720-1744," in *American Historical Association, Annual Report* (1911), I, 231-237, and "Santiago and the freeing of Spanish America, 1741," in *The American Historical Review*, IV (1899), 323-328.

³ Sir W. Foster, *England's Search for Eastern Trade* (London, 1933) pp. 4-7.

⁴ H. Hauser, "Les relations commerciales entre la France et l'Espagne et la politique de Richelieu," in *Revue de l'histoire économique et sociale*, XXIV (1938), 5-13.

⁵ *The English American his travail by land and sea; or a new survey of the West Indies* (London, 1648), pp. 100-101.

obtained only from Spanish America. Brazil and the Spanish Indies were therefore the only areas which offered at the same time both a supply of important raw materials and a good market, and upon trade with those areas trade with other continents was dependent. Upon a proper utilization of the resources of Spain's American empire hung the commercial future of Europe, especially of France and Britain.

The problem of trade with the focal area of the Spanish empire was complicated by the prohibitions imposed by the Laws of the Indies, forbidding foreigners to trade with the Spanish colonies. Like most Spanish prohibitions, however, these provisions were evaded, and aliens traded with the Indies either through Spanish agents in Cádiz (the indirect system), or by sending goods directly to America and smuggling them to purchasers (the direct system).⁶ Success in the former system depended largely upon the ability of a government to make favorable commercial treaties with the Spaniards. Such treaties never gave recognition to alien trade with the Indies, but they were important because they protected the alien merchant established in Cádiz, made difficult the seizure of goods, and facilitated the illicit export of the bullion which was the principal return from American trading ventures. The direct system, on the other hand, depended more for its success upon the venality of Spanish colonial officials and upon the willingness and ability of non-Hispanic governments to protect their traders by naval vessels operating from West Indian stations.

From the beginning of the seventeenth century the French and the British had been competitors in both these trades. Both nations strove for treaties which would give them a secure position in Cádiz, and both of them supported by force their interlope traders in the Caribbean and the Pacific. Each of them faced a dual task. They had not only to secure their own participation in the trade of the Spanish empire, but they had also to ensure that that trade should not be wholly monopolized by the other. In the War of the Spanish Succession,

⁶ On the direct trade see V. L. Brown, "Contraband trade; a factor in the decline of Spain's empire in America," in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, VIII (1928), 178-189.

Spanish-American trade was an admitted prize.⁷ Victory in that war, with the *asiento*, the *navio de permiso*, and the ratification and extension of the important Anglo-Spanish commercial treaties of 1667 and 1670 as its fruits, went to England. The French received only a general promise of most-favored-nation treatment, and that, in the eighteenth century, suffered from very serious limitations.⁸ However, they could argue that the accession of Philip V to the throne of Spain gave to them a position which had considerable potential benefits. Properly utilized, the blood relationship between the French and Spanish sovereigns ought to produce special privileges for the French within the Spanish empire.⁹

At the same time, the accession of Philip V placed severe limitations upon the scope of French actions for the furtherance of their commercial interests within the Hispanic area. A French *mémoire* of 1763¹⁰ analyzed those limitations as follows:

During the past century Spain has been compelled by a series of unsuccessful wars to cede trade privileges to certain nations, so that commercially the latter were better placed than her own subjects. Spain has often tried to avoid the consequences of this by failing to put the terms of such treaties into operation, and in Madrid English ambassadors have publicly rebuked Spanish ministers for such lack of good faith. Since the accession of Philip V to the throne of Spain, France has had to change completely the policy which she followed for two centuries. Unlike the English, the French can no longer get their way in Spain by threats. All our negotiations since that time have had to be based on principles of common interest, of predeliction, of friendship. Thus the French have seen themselves faced with the loss or diminution of those privileges which they had acquired—at the very time when Spain was giving most favored nation treatment to an enemy [England] whom interest demanded she destroy.

⁷ A. M. Wilson, *French Foreign Policy during the administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-1743* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936), cap. I.

⁸ J. Koulischer, "Les traités de commerce et la clause de la nation plus favorisée du xvième. au xviiième. siècle" in *Revue de l'histoire moderne*, No. 31 (jan.-fév., 1931), 1-29.

⁹ A. Baudrillart, *Philippe V et la cour de France* (4 vols., Paris, 1890-1894), II, 403-504.

¹⁰ *Réflexions réservées pour le ministère de France au sujet d'un plan et d'un arrangement général avec la Cour d'Espagne*, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereinafter cited as B. N.), fonds français, 10,766, ff. 71-93.

The delicacy of the blood relationship, Spanish susceptibilities, and the fear of driving Spain into the hands of the enemy meant that French policy in regard to Spain was pre-determined and bound by certain constants which did not effect the policies of Holland or Britain. The vigorous methods of those powers in American waters were closed to her, and she had to suppress her nationals' trade with Chile and Peru.¹¹ She could only hope to gain for herself an exceptional position in the domestic trade of Spain and in the tolerated Indies traffic *via* Cádiz. If she failed to improve her position in such spheres, she was faced with the disagreeable necessity of having to protect Spain in the case of the latter's becoming involved in war with England, while she would be unable to profit greatly from her in times of peace. From the Treaty of Utrecht to the Seven Years' War, France spasmodically pursued the same policy. Spain was to be made strong. Then, with the help of the French, she would drive the British and the Dutch from American waters and secure once more the monopoly of her colonial market, a market which Spain would control, but which France would supply.¹²

In the period from 1713 to 1759 many Britons lamented the accession of a Bourbon to the throne of Spain, and alleged that the French were ousting their British competitors from the Spanish market because of commercial privileges they were able to obtain through Bourbon solidarity.¹³ The French settlement of Louisiana was also regarded with dark suspicion, for it was thought of as a base intended for the conquest of Mexico, a blow which would mean the ruination of

¹¹ E. W. Dahlgren, "L'expédition de Martinet, et le fin du commerce interlope français à la mer du sud espagnole" in *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, I (1913), 257-332; L. Vignols et H. Sée, "La fin du commerce interlope dans l'Amérique Espagnole" in *Revue de l'histoire économique et sociale*, No. 3 (1925), 300-313.

¹² *Mémoire des principales places de commerce*, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 491-517.

¹³ W. Beawes, *Lex Mercatoria Rediviva* (London, 1752), pp. 612-622; E. Clarke, *Letters concerning the Spanish Nation* (London, 1763) pp. 251; M. Postlethwayt, *Universal Dictionary of Trade and Commerce* (London, 1771), under "Spain"; An English Merchant, *The Spanish Empire in America* (London, 1747), pp. 301-306; *French Influences upon English Counsels demonstrated* (London, 1740), pp. 1-14; W. Clarke, *Observations on the late and present conduct of the French* (London, 1755), p. 10.

British trade.¹⁴ The French, on the other hand, viewed their own situation with equal gloom, and were convinced that they were being ousted from the Spanish market by the British.¹⁵ When the Duc de Choiseul became Louis XV's minister of war in 1759 it seemed apparent to him that France had met with no success in her attempt to utilize the position given her by the accession of Philip V and his Bourbon successor.

Choiseul was convinced of the importance of Spanish-American trade for France, and he was also convinced that British victory in the current war against France would be a prelude to an onslaught against the Spanish empire. He argued that after France had been beaten to her knees, an early step of the British would be to destroy Spanish potentialities as a French ally and to ruin permanently French commerce either by territorial acquisitions in South America or, more probably, by facilitating the establishment of independent nations there.¹⁶ It was essential that France oppose with all her might the passing of the Spanish empire into British hands, for such a change would mean that the sources of gold and silver would be controlled not by a third-rate but by a first-rate naval power, which would thus become "the only nation in a position to furnish subsidies to the continent, and to lay down the law there."¹⁷ French industry would be dependent upon British acquiescence for its access to supplies of raw materials. The loss of Mexico alone¹⁸

would be of first class importance to France, for if the English took it they would furnish it exclusively with their own manufactures, which would occasion a loss of trade worth 20,000,000 [piastres?] annually to France, and in consequence ruin the greater part of our industry;— and even if, at the end of several years, Spain regained her possessions, it is quite certain that the use of French manufactures would be ended

¹⁴ *Some considerations on the consequences of the French settling colonies on the Mississippi* (London, 1720).

¹⁵ F. Renaut, *Le Pacte de Famille et l'Amérique* (Paris, 1922), pp. 20-36.

¹⁶ Choiseul to the Marquis d'Ossun, French ambassador in Madrid, Oct. 13 and 23, and Nov. 14, 1760, Archive du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, (hereinafter cited as A.A.É.), Correspondence Politique, Espagne, 530, ff. 46-47, 111-120, 192-199; *Réflexions sur la position actuelle de l'Espagne en égard aux Indes*, B. N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 499-504. Cf. Pares, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-77.

¹⁷ Choiseul to Ossun, Nov. 14, 1760, A.A.É., C. P., Espagne, 530, ff. 192-199.

¹⁸ Choiseul to Ossun, Oct. 20, 1762, *ibid.*, 537, ff. 256-262.

for the period of the English occupation; and this, for twenty years or more, would do us considerable injury.

Choiseul's estimate of the importance of the Spanish empire was based on several factors. He firmly believed that the strength of a nation depended largely on its commerce, and that for French commerce the trade of Spain and its empire was of first-class importance.¹⁹ The European balance of power had also to be considered, because the possession of the Spanish empire would enable England to exert enormous pressure upon other European nations.

Colonies, commerce, and the maritime power which accrues from them will decide the balance of power on the continent. Austria, Russia, and the king of Prussia are only second class powers, like all others who can make war only when they are subsidized by the commercial powers, which are France, England, Spain and Holland.²⁰

The domestic situation must also be faced. An increase in trade would mean a diminution in that hostility to the Crown which the minister, even in 1759, felt to be growing among the trading classes. He feared especially the enmity of what he called "*le corps de financiers*," new men who were powerful because of their money and who must be placated.²¹ They could best be quieted by finding for them new and profitable forms of investment, and there seemed to be no area more suited to that than the Spanish empire, with its fabled wealth and its untapped resources.

Such beliefs drove Choiseul back to the old idea of using the blood relationship of the ruling houses of France and Spain to bring about close economic coöperation between the two countries. His policy was merely a logical development of that of Louis XIV, which had been fitfully pursued by many of his predecessors in the ministry.²² Nevertheless, it was left to Choiseul to elucidate certain general principles

¹⁹ Choiseul to Ossun, Feb. 19, 1760, *ibid.*, 527, ff. 232-239, and Nov. 14, 1760, *ibid.*, 530, ff. 192-199.

²⁰ Choiseul to Ossun, Nov. 14, 1760, *ibid.*, 530, ff. 192-199.

²¹ Choiseul to Ossun, Oct. 29 and Nov. 18, 1759, *ibid.*, 525, ff. 344-346, and 526, ff. 52-57; and *cf.* Choiseul to Ossun, March 3, 1761, *ibid.*, 531, ff. 325-326.

²² As Choiseul himself admitted in a letter to Ossun of May 12, 1761, *ibid.*, 532, ff. 34-37.

and to elevate to the position of a coherent system a policy which had formerly been vague and half-intuitive. He was more fortunate than former ministers, because Charles III, who became king of Spain in 1759, was very alarmed by the progress of British arms in America and by the overthrowing of the balance of power in that continent.²³ Charles was convinced that there was every chance of a British attack upon the Spanish empire, once the French had been thoroughly defeated.²⁴

The harmony of ideas of French minister and Spanish king led in August, 1761, to the signing of the Family Compact.²⁵ In the course of the negotiations the need for protecting the Spanish empire from the encroachments of the British was stressed.

The intention the British court has formed and follows of reigning despotically on all the seas, of taking for itself all those dominions and ports of the East and West Indies which serve as rungs in a ladder for navigation, or as the key by which each can enter and communicate with his own dominions, of aspiring to a position where no one shall have trade other than that which it pleases the British nation to allow to them; all this is so clear, that His Catholic Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty, who have considerable possessions in those parts of the world, can no longer watch without action this ambitious plot which will cause them to lose everything, as they have indeed already lost part, and submit them to a sway which is opposed to their greatness, honor, and dignity alike.²⁶

The same themes figured prominently in the terms of the Spanish declaration of war upon England.²⁷ To meet the

²³ This Charles stated explicitly in a message delivered through d'Abreu, his minister in London, to Pitt on Dec. 19, 1759, Public Record Office, London (hereinafter cited at P.R.O.), State Papers Spain, 94/160.

²⁴ Ossun to Choiseul, Oct. 31 and Nov. 6, 1759, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 525, ff. 351-355, and 526, ff. 6-20.

²⁵ The best account of the negotiations is in A. Bourguet, *Le Duc de Choiseul et l'alliance espagnole*. Paris, 1906.

²⁶ Draft proposals presented by the Marquis de Grimaldi, Spanish ambassador to Versailles, May 15, 1761, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 532, ff. 281-288. Cf. *Réflexions sur quelques points du mémoire historique de la négociation de la France avec l'Angleterre*, *ibid.*, 536, ff. 413-426.

²⁷ Manifesto de S.M.C., in *the Gaceta de Madrid*, Dec. 15, 1761; cf. *Razon de entrar en Portugal las tropas españolas como amigos, y sin razon de recibirlas como enemigos*. Madrid, 1762.

danger the necessity for Franco-Spanish economic coöperation was stressed. However, in the Compact itself very little was said concerning economic matters, for the subject was so complicated that it was thought better to postpone detailed consideration until after the war.²⁸ Only four of the clauses of the document had any possible bearing on commercial matters. Article xxiv, the most important of these, promised that:

The subjects of the high contracting powers shall be treated in respect of commerce and of imposts, in each of the two countries in Europe, as the subjects of the country in which they happen to be, in such a manner that the Spanish flag shall enjoy in France the same rights and prerogatives as the French, and similarly the French flag shall be treated in Spain with the same favor as the Spanish. The subjects of the two monarchies, in declaring their merchandise shall pay the same duties as are paid by nationals.

The article went on to give an assurance of most-favored-nation treatment to the French in Spain and to Spaniards in France, but this was merely a re-affirmation of the *status quo*. The article was admittedly vague, and its operation was confined to Europe. The immediate commercial importance of the Family Compact was therefore small.

The British capture of Havana in 1762, and the other disasters suffered by Spain after she entered the war, augured ill for hopes of further collaboration between Frenchmen and Spaniards. Nevertheless, Choiseul did not abandon his central idea. On October 9, 1762, he wrote:²⁹

I'm certain that our best plan is to make peace, cost what it may, and then, in concert with the king of Spain, to work for the rehabilitation of our navy and colonies, in order that within a few years we may be able to wipe out our disgrace. We must wait five years before beginning war again on the same lines, keeping Germany out of it, but forestalling the enemy, and attacking before he is ready.

On November 23 he again stressed the necessity for "an entire conformity of principle between the two powers," and for the "invariable combining and concerting of all operations."³⁰

²⁸ Ossun to Choiseul, Feb. 9, 1761, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 531, ff. 188-198.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 537, ff. 233-234.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 537, f. 349.

The policy of coöperation which he envisaged fell naturally into two parts.³¹ The first was concerned with military and naval matters, especially with the development of French and Spanish navies trained in the same manner so that coöperation would be easy, and with the "fortifying and placing in a sound defensive condition those strategic points of Spanish America," where it was expected the next British blows would fall. The second was concerned with the "necessity of establishing such an interdependence in the commerce of the two nations, that they cannot drift away from each other without damage and ruination." The first of these divisions Choiseul made his own peculiar care. The second was left very largely to the Marquis d'Ossun and the Abbé Béliardi, respectively French ambassador and consul general in Madrid.³² Choiseul continued to be interested in the question of economic coöperation, but he soon grew sceptical of the possibility of overcoming the Spanish prejudices which stood in the way of such a scheme.³³

Ossun first expressed his ideas in a long *mémoire* sent to Choiseul on June 29, 1761, in which he called for close economic coöperation between France and Spain, and for the pooling of all resources, both economic and colonial.³⁴ He claimed that Spain and her empire were best suited to the production of certain raw materials such as wool and silk in the case of Spain, and minerals, dyewoods, drugs, and hides in the case of her colonies. Spain ought therefore to concentrate upon the production of these producers' goods, giving to

³¹ *Récapitulation du système politique de la France*, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 308-309.

³² On Béliardi see P. Muret, "Les papiers de l'abbé Béliardi et les relations commerciales de la France et de l'Espagne au milieu du xviii. siècle," in *Revue de l'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, IV (1902-1903), 657-672; L. Blart, *Les rapports de la France et de l'Espagne, jusqu'à la fin du ministère du Duc de Choiseul* (Paris, 1915), pp. 47-49; A. S. Aiton, "Spanish Colonial Reorganization under the Family Compact," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XII (1932), 269-280. The Spaniards did not officially recognize the existence of consuls general in Madrid, but in practice both Britain and France had officers who acted in such capacities; Rochford to Conway, Dec. 5, 1765, P.R.O., S.P., Spain, 94/172.

³³ Choiseul to Ossun, April 23, 1765, A.A.É., C.P., Espagne, 542, f. 325.

³⁴ In *ibid.*, 532, ff. 455-473.

French merchants special purchasing facilities which would enable them to dispense with Italy, the Levant, and northern Europe as sources of supply. France, on the other hand, the natural political ally of Spain, had a highly developed industrial economy which, given the proper facilities, was capable of supplying at low cost all manufactured goods needed within the Spanish territories. Increase in the Indies trade would mean an increase in the allied merchant marine, and the Bourbon powers would thus become completely independent of, and superior to, all other nations.

In memorials of a later date, Béliardi argued the same idea, but was more specific on points of detail.³⁵ He admitted that Spain could not be prevented from trying to supply as many of her own needs as she possibly could, but it was his opinion that she could never develop her industries sufficiently to supply all her domestic and imperial needs. Arguments of political expediency ought therefore to convince the Spanish ministers that their need for manufactured goods should be supplied so far as possible from France, in order that there might be created a large European and American area from which all British trade would be excluded.³⁶ The simplest method of achieving this would be by a prohibition of all trade with Britain, but the last war had shown the inadvisability of such a move until Bourbon armaments and industry were in a better position. That was an ideal to strive for, but meantime the two nations ought to give each other as many advantages as possible, without allowing Britain to claim similar rights under existing treaties and without giving her an excuse to declare war.³⁷

Examples of the manner in which coöperation might be used for the destruction of non-Bourbon commerce and in-

³⁵ Mémoire des principales places de commerce, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 491-517; Utilité que les deux nations peuvent retirer de leurs productions, *ibid.*, 10,768, ff. 49-60; Mémoire sur les avantages que le Pacte de Famille peut donner à la France et à l'Espagne, *ibid.*, 10,767, ff. 246-267.

³⁶ Mémoire pour l'intelligence et l'explication du Pacte de Famille, *ibid.*, 10,767, ff. 231-259; Choiseul to Ossun, July 7, 1761, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 534, ff. 27-29; Ossun to Choiseul, Dec. 14, 1761, *ibid.*, 534, ff. 294-304.

³⁷ Mémoire des principales places de commerce, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 491-517.

dustry were given in other memorials.³⁸ The greatest object of all was the ruination of the British woolen trade by the exclusion of its products from the Spanish and Spanish-American markets. At that time the French were particularly sensitive on all matters concerning the wool textile industry, for their own products were facing increasingly severe competition in the Cádiz market, not only from Britain but also from Silesia.³⁹ The importation of British steel, hardware, linens, printed cottons, leathers and other manufactured goods ought also to be discouraged by the increase of duties charged upon them, and increased supplies ought to be obtained from France. The trade in Irish salt meat could be ended by the development of a salting industry, operated by Irish salters, in Cuba. Abolition of internal restrictions upon the grain trade, and a proper development of the vast agricultural, pastoral, and fishing resources of the Spanish empire would enable the Spaniards to dispense with their importation of Irish butter, North American wheat and corn, Newfoundland fish, and Carolinian rice.⁴⁰ The proper development of Spain's known supplies of saltpeter and the search for other supplies in the Indies, when united with French industrial technique, could make both powers independent of Holland for their supplies of gunpowder. The necessity of purchasing iron, timber, and naval stores in the Scandinavian countries could also be ended by an intelligent development of the resources of the Spanish empire.⁴¹ Naval timber could be obtained in the Indies, and either sent to Europe in already shaped condition, or used for the construction of naval vessels in American bases. The materials were cheap and on the spot, and whole fleets could be built up far from the eyes of British agents.⁴²

Some of the items in this plan were obviously sound, and

³⁸ Béliardi to Praslin, Jan. 31, 1763, *ibid.*, 10,764, ff. 311-312; *Utilité que les deux nations peuvent retirer de leurs productions*, *ibid.*, 10,768, ff. 49-60.

³⁹ *Corps d'observations de la Société d'Agriculture, de Commerce et des Arts, établi par les États de Bretagne, années 1769 et 1760* (Paris, 1760), p. 357; *Quelques réflexions sur différentes branches du commerce de la France et de l'Espagne*, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 152-157.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, especially ff. 51-54.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 50-51.

⁴² *Mémoire pour l'Espagne*, *ibid.*, 10,766, ff. 141-168.

were adopted by Spain. Several naval vessels were actually built in Cuba,⁴³ while American copper and iron went to the royal foundries to be made into cannon and munitions of war.⁴⁴ But the central idea of Franco-Spanish coöperation had, from the Spanish point of view, certain serious disadvantages which were inherent in the nature of the economic relationship between France and Spain. Apart from American products, silk and wool were the only Spanish exports for which France had any great desire. Spanish fruits, nuts, wines, and brandies went principally to England, Holland, and the American colonies, and it was quite impossible for France to offer a market for such products.⁴⁵ The only suggestion that the French had to offer was that the Spaniards should attempt to develop their own colonial market for their wines and other products by reducing the taxation upon them and by firmly repressing the manufacture of such native liquors as *pulque*, *tequila*, and *mescal*.⁴⁶ This could hardly be represented as an equitable return for special preferences for French manufactures in Spain, especially as Béliardi hoped that the extended use of Spanish wines in the Indies would educate the creole palate to the extent where it might create a demand for French wines.⁴⁷ Although clamorous for privileges in Spain, the French were always reluctant to grant any advantages to the Spaniards in France, and a modest request made by the Marqués de Fuentes, when ambassador to Versailles, for special privileges for Spanish salt fish met with fierce opposition.⁴⁸ The French always argued that their

⁴³ Ossun to Choiseul, March 30, 1768, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 556, ff. 321-332.

⁴⁴ Grimaldi to Magellón, August 2, 1765, *ibid.*, 543, ff. 368-370; Choiseul to Ossun, August 20, 1765, *ibid.*, 543, ff. 421-422. In the 1760's lists of the cargoes of ships arriving at Cádiz often contained quantities of iron and copper. Such lists can be found scattered through the British State Papers in the Public Record Office and amongst the reports of the French consuls in the Archives Nationales.

⁴⁵ G. Desdevizes du Desert, *L'Espagne de l'ancien régime* (3 vols., Paris, 1897-1904), III, 142.

⁴⁶ Idée générale du commerce de toutes les Indes Espagnoles, B.N., fonds français, 10,769, ff. 7-10.

⁴⁷ Béliardi to Praslin, Oct. 24, 1765, *ibid.*, 10,764, f. 401.

⁴⁸ Office passé par M. le Mquis. de Fuentes à M. le Duc de Choiseul, Oct. 29, 1767, *ibid.*, 10,767, ff. 300-303; Béliardi to Choiseul, Nov. 13, 1767, *ibid.*, 10,767, ff. 304-307.

schemes were framed with an eye to the common advantage of both countries, but somehow the common interest always demanded that Spain make the sacrifices.

French disingenuousness was shown quite clearly by the proposals for a division of the European market for colonial produce. It was hoped that with proper measures the Bourbon powers would be able to place themselves in the position of exclusive purveyors to the rest of Europe of most American products. Béliardi suggested that an equitable division of the market would be for France to be given exclusive control of the trade in sugars, coffee, and cotton, while Spain should have a monopoly of the market for logwood, cochineal, vanilla, vicuña wool, hides, and of the produce of the gold and silver mines.⁴⁹ The trade in indigo, tobacco, and cacao was to be shared. This was not a particularly generous offer, in view of the fact that the French produced little cotton or indigo, while the Spanish colonies produced considerable quantities of both, and were potentially capable of producing large amounts of sugar, if only the necessary labor supply were available. Béliardi found this a most disturbing possibility. In one of his memoranda sent to Choiseul he wrote:⁵⁰

If Spain thinks of furnishing the inhabitants of those islands [Cuba, Porto Rico, Hispaniola] with an abundance of negroes, so putting them in a position to extend their cultivated areas, their lands are so fertile that it will not be long before the increase in their sugar plantations does immense harm to France. Cuba already furnishes almost 750,000 quintals each year, although only the environs of Havana are populated.—It will thus be very dangerous if Spain has her eyes opened.

Cuba alone was capable of producing more sugar than all the French islands together, for Martinique was beginning to suffer from exhausted soil, while the more fertile half of Hispaniola was Spanish.⁵¹ The lands of the Spanish empire were

⁴⁹ *Réflexions sur la nécessité de l'union des deux puissances et sur les moyens qu'elles doivent prendre pour rendre réciproquement avantageuse en égard à leurs possessions aux Indes*, *ibid.*, 10,768, ff. 505-508; *Mémoires sur le tabac et le cacao*, *ibid.*, 10,768, f. 515.

⁵⁰ *Réflexions sur la nécessité de l'union des deux puissances*, *ibid.*, 10,768, f. 505.

⁵¹ *Mémoire remis à M. le Cte. de Choiseul, le 22 février, 1762*, *ibid.*, 10,768, ff. 110-115.

"so fertile, and the variety of their products so infinitely varied, that they could embarrass and even totally ruin the French colonies." The Spaniards ought therefore to concentrate upon the production of tobacco, in order to capture the European market from the English variety.⁵²

This fear for the prosperity of their colonial possessions was a French preoccupation throughout the 1760's. Choiseul occasionally professed himself sceptical of the value of colonies, but the period of French doubt of colonial possessions came some years later.⁵³ Choiseul himself devoted considerable attention to the development of Guiana and Madagascar after 1763,⁵⁴ and had indeed considered plans for their settlement while the Seven Years' War was still being fought.⁵⁵ Louisiana had been surrendered to Spain in 1763 because of political necessity, rather than because it was considered worthless.⁵⁶ After 1763 some of the French hoped that part of Franco-Spanish coöperation might consist of the handing over to France of various parts of the Spanish empire. Spain had vast areas of land which she could not possibly develop. She ought therefore to transfer some of them to France, for after 1763 the latter had too few colonies for the energies of its people.⁵⁷

The Spanish possession most coveted by the French was Santo Domingo. There had been suggestions during the Seven Years' War that this colony be exchanged for Louisiana,⁵⁸ and even after the latter colony had had to be surrendered to Spain without compensation, suggestions that the whole of

⁵² *Ibid.*, loc. cit.; *Mémoire sur le tabac*, *ibid.*, 10,768, f. 515.

⁵³ Cf. C. W. Lokke, *France and the Colonial Question; a study of contemporary French opinion, 1763-1801* (New York, 1932), cap. I.

⁵⁴ E. Daubigny, *Choiseul et la France d'outre-mer après le Traité de Paris* (Paris, 1892).

⁵⁵ Choiseul to Ossun, Dec. 15, 1761, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 534, ff. 305-308; Choiseul to the Abbé de Breteuil, March 2, 1762, *ibid.*, 535, f. 238.

⁵⁶ A. S. Aiton, "The Diplomacy of the Louisiana Cession," in *The American Historical Review*, XXXVI (1931), 701-720.

⁵⁷ *Réflexions sur la nécessité de l'union des deux puissances*, etc., B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 505-508; Allan Christelow, "Proposals for a French Company for Spanish Louisiana, 1763-1764" in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVII (1941), 603-611.

⁵⁸ Ossun to Choiseul, July 5, 1760, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 529, ff. 22-34.

Hispaniola be made French were not lacking.⁵⁹ However, all that the French obtained was a favorable rectification of boundaries. In his more extravagant moments Béliardi even suggested that Spain transfer both Porto Rico and Santo Domingo to France, and that the return of Louisiana be made a condition of France's assisting Spain in any further war with England.⁶⁰ Choiseul refused to consider the proposal, but there is no doubt that a section of French opinion looked forward to the return of the lost colony.⁶¹ Throughout the 1760's there was a regular trade between Bordeaux, La Rochelle, and New Orleans, and the Duc de Praslin, Choiseul's relative and his colonial minister, suggested that the privileges accorded to Louisiana tobacco in the French market be continued, even though the colony was no longer in French hands.⁶² He thought that continued emphasis on the ties between the colonists and France might later be of considerable advantage. There were also proposals that Spain surrender a port in the Philippines to France in return for permission to use the Ile de Bourbon as a port of call for Spanish vessels traveling to the Orient *via* the Cape of Good Hope.⁶³ Many of these schemes were, of course, the work of private individuals rather than of the government, but they do help to show the direction of French interests.

None of these plans ever had a chance of success, for the Spaniards were no more prepared to place any of their territory in the hands of the French than they were to see it in the possession of the British. Other parts of the French program were more likely to be adopted, for many of them,

⁵⁹ *Projet sur la Jamaïque, B.N., fonds français, 10,770, ff. 128-148, and Réflexions sur les forces de mer, ibid., 10,770, ff. 283-293* suggest that in the event of the capture of either Gibraltar or Jamaica they should be exchanged for Santo Domingo. *Comment les espagnols regardent le commerce des étrangers, ibid., 10,766, f. 68* suggests the transfer of Porto Rico and Santo Domingo to France. *Réflexions sur la nécessité de l'union etc., ibid., 10,768, f. 506* suggests that Spain might profitably transfer the whole of the Spanish Antilles to France.

⁶⁰ *Projet de convention préliminaire entre la France et l'Espagne, ibid., 10,770, ff. 118-127.*

⁶¹ Choiseul to Béliardi, Nov. 12 (?), *ibid., 10,770, f. 117.*

⁶² Praslin to Choiseul, August 4, 1766, *A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 546, f. 279; Christelow, op. cit., pp. 604-607.*

⁶³ *Projet de M. d'Ibarola pour une Compagnie pour les Philippines, B.N., fonds français, 13,418, ff. 171-176.*

although framed with the eventual benefit of France in view, were decidedly to the advantage of Spain. In this category belong the suggestions for various reforms in the Indies trade. The French argued that the Spanish commercial system was to be considered as a double monopoly; the one was a monopoly closing, or attempting to close, a profitable area to other nations, while the other was the attempted monopoly of the whole of the trade of that area by the merchants of one or two Spanish towns. The first the French wanted to make effective, but with a major modification: that the Indies should become the monopoly of the Bourbon powers, not of Spain alone. The second they wished to destroy, since its continued existence was incompatible with the modification of the first, and since it was opposed to their ideas for the new planned economy which was henceforward to bring prosperity to the two nations.

The first-suggested reform was that the system of confining imperial commerce to a specified number of ships sailing from designated ports at fixed times be abandoned. The Manila galleon particularly aroused the anger of French economists. It grievously limited what might be a profitable trade, and it confined such commerce as it allowed to the wrong channels. Gold which had never circulated in Europe was taken from Mexico to China, and the goods brought back were of a type which competed with the manufactures of France and Spain.⁶⁴ With the abandonment of the system of limited ships it was essential that other aspects of the excessive governmental regulation be given up. In particular, the too careful inspection of cargoes and visitation of the vessels by a long series of officials, each able to involve the owners in fresh expense by prescribing various alterations and repairs, ought to be abolished.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Idée du commerce espagnol avec les Philippines, *ibid.*, 10,769, ff. 310-312; Observations sur la lettre érit à M. le Duc de Choiseul par M. le Mquis. d'Ossun, *ibid.*, 13,418, ff. 176-184. On French trade with the Philippines see W. L. Schurz, *The Manila Galleon* (New York, 1939), pp. 135-137.

⁶⁵ Examen du nouveau règlement, B.N., fonds français, 10,769, ff. 133-140; Utilité que les deux nations peuvent retirer de leurs productions, *ibid.*, 10,766, f. 60, ends with the words "Mais l'objet le plus essentiel pour la France, et sur lequel le cour de France ne sauroit pas se dispenser d'insister, est celui de donner une nouvelle forme au commerce de l'Amérique."

From the French and Spanish points of view alike, the greatest necessity in the Indies was the suppression of British contraband trade. Béliardi thought that the British made far more profit from the Spanish empire than did the Spaniards themselves.⁶⁶ So long as the Manila galleon monopolized the China trade, the Spaniards would bear all the expense of the defense and administration of the Philippines, while the British East India Company reaped all the rewards.⁶⁷ While Spanish looms stood idle, those of England worked steadily to clothe the inhabitants of the Spanish Indies.⁶⁸ And as a reverse aspect of this Spain obtained from the British and the Dutch cacao, sugar, and various medical supplies which were the produce of her own dominions, while France was driven to the same sources to satisfy her need for logwood and cochineal.⁶⁹ Charles III did not need to be convinced of the danger of British contraband, for shortly after his accession he had been presented with a long report in which the British were described as "by far the worst offenders in that contraband trade which is the root of so many disorders in Your Majesty's dominions."⁷⁰ The hope of being able to suppress such traffic had been one of the reasons why he went to war in 1762.

The contraband problem could never be considered as really settled until the British were driven from Jamaica and the Dutch from St. Eustatius and Curaçao. In 1763 it was not feasible to attempt forcibly to expel them, yet the new position of the British after the Peace of Paris rendered it necessary to do something, for the terms of the peace had left them with new smuggling bases in their hands. In any case, it was

⁶⁶ In his *Mémoire pour l'Espagne*, *ibid.*, 10,766, ff. 156-157, he claimed that the British employed nearly 400 ships each year in the contraband trade, while the Spaniards used scarcely 10 in the legitimate traffic.

⁶⁷ *Projet de M. d'Ibarola*, *ibid.*, 13,418, ff. 171-176, states (f. 172) that the Philippines meant a loss of over 1,000,000 *livres* p. a. to the Spanish Crown. Cf. *Relation succincte de la ville de Manille*, *ibid.*, ff. 185-193, and *Mémoire sur les Philippines*, *ibid.*, 10,769, ff. 326-328.

⁶⁸ Untitled *mémoire* in *ibid.*, 10,769, ff. 139-140.

⁶⁹ *Utilité que les deux nations peuvent retirer de leurs productions*, *ibid.*, 10,766, ff. 52-53; *Mémoire pour l'Espagne*, *ibid.*, 10,766, f. 162.

⁷⁰ In British Museum, Add. Mss., 36,339, ff. 303-332, from an original in Archivo General de Indias, Secreta del Perú, Secular, Indiferente General, 146/1/10.

no use arguing that Spain could end the interlope trade solely by taking repressive measures, for "even if she sent angels to govern on those coasts, they would be unable to stop the trade."⁷¹ The many Spanish officials who had a vested interest in the maintenance of the traffic and the occasional support of British men o' war were both factors of some importance, but it was the low price which really guaranteed the sale of contraband goods. Reduction in the cost of goods going to the Indies through legitimate channels was the only method which would enable the Spaniards to destroy British contraband trade permanently.⁷²

This was sound reasoning, and Charles III was convinced it was correct,⁷³ but it is impossible to escape the conclusion that the French were more interested in the advantages which would accrue to France than they were in the benefits which might be derived by the two powers in common. They extended the argument by stating that Spain would not find safety in making reforms in the Indies trade, desirable as those reforms might be. It could not be denied that the British had placed themselves "in a position for making an attack upon the Spanish Indies, and would neglect no opportunity for achieving such a conquest."⁷⁴ Hence the only measure which would enable Spain successfully to protect herself was close union with France, and all measures short of that would be mere palliatives. Here the interests of French commerce began to appear. If the adoption of the proposed reforms led to an increase in the American consumption of European products, it was certain that the Spaniards themselves could not immediately supply that increase. The organization and general condition of Spanish industry were such that it would be many years before they could reach the level of efficiency necessary to supply goods in great quantities, especially if they were faced with French competition.⁷⁵ Béliardi hoped

⁷¹ *Réflexions sur la position actuelle de l'Espagne*, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, f. 499.

⁷² *Idée générale du commerce de toutes les Indes Espagnoles*, *ibid.*, 10,769, ff. 3-53.

⁷³ Ossun to Choiseul, Dec. 29, 1760, A.A.E., Espagne, 530, ff. 394-406.

⁷⁴ *Réflexions sur la position actuelle*, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, f. 499.

⁷⁵ *Avantages que la France retirera du système proposé*, *ibid.*, 10,769, ff. 54-56.

that the French would be able to utilize their special position under the Family Compact to gain for themselves the American market for woollens, linens, cotton cloths, printed materials, paper, and all kinds of hardware.⁷⁶ He even hoped the French might obtain the right of shipping such goods to the Indies under their own names, thereby avoiding all the difficulties of having to work through Spanish agents.⁷⁷ He was satisfied that the trade continued to be routed through Spanish ports only, but thought the French might hint that it was good will alone which kept them out of the contraband trade.⁷⁸

The reforms adopted by the Spaniards in 1765 were therefore very much in agreement with those the French desired, although by no means so thorough-going.⁷⁹ Béliardi's analysis of the ailments of the Indies traffic was certainly one of the factors which influenced the Spanish ministers in reaching their decision.⁸⁰ In other ways, too, French influence was quite important in Spanish counsels during the period of Choiseul.⁸¹ Yet it is very hard to determine whether or not the Spaniards, when they formulated their policy of reform, had any real consideration for the welfare of France. Individuals in Spain, such as Gálvez, were avowed supporters of the French interest,⁸² but there were many inherited prejudices and vested rights which were opposed to French participation in the economic life of the empire. The French and Spanish needed each other as allies, but the ministers of each country were primarily interested in the economic progress of their own nation. The Spanish ministers issued stricter regulations for the visit of foreign shipping and prohibited

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, et *loc. cit.*; *Mémoire de M. Barthes sur les avantages que le Pacte de Famille peut donner à la France et à l'Espagne pour le rétablissement de la marine et du commerce maritime*, *ibid.*, 10,767, ff. 231-258.

⁷⁷ *Explication du Pacte de Famille*, *ibid.*, 10,766, ff. 9-48.

⁷⁸ Béliardi to Praslin, Jan. 20, 1766, *ibid.*, 10,764, ff. 423-425.

⁷⁹ By an order of Oct. 16, 1765, trade to Cuba, Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad was opened to the ports of Seville, Cádiz, Alicante, Cartagena, Malaga, Barcelona, Santander, Coruña and Gijón. Duties were reduced and conditions of shipment made easier.

⁸⁰ Aiton, *loc. cit.*, XII, No. 3, 272-273.

⁸¹ Aiton, *op. cit.*, *supra*; H. I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain* (Berkeley, 1916), pp. 39-40.

⁸² Gálvez affirmed his devotion to French interests in a letter to Ossun, August 6, 1759, A.A.E., C.P., Espagne, 525, ff. 160-161.

the importation into Spain of various types of manufactured goods, and these measures hit the French as hard as any nation.⁸³

The far-reaching French plans for economic coöperation were therefore reduced in practice to an attempt to find a cure for the ills from which French trade in Spain was suffering. The years from 1762 to 1769 saw a series of undignified quarrels arising from the French attempts to impose upon the Spaniards an interpretation of Article xxiv of the Family Compact which would place French trade in Spain on a very favorable footing.⁸⁴ The French demanded that they be accorded the privileges of natives, yet if there was anything they did not want it was to be treated in Spain as were the Spaniards themselves. According to their own interpretation, Article xxiv was intended to give to the French all the commercial privileges and advantages belonging to the natives, confirm to them all such peculiar prerogatives as they had held before, and confer upon them all the particularly attractive rights and immunities granted by treaty to other nations.⁸⁵ The Spaniards replied that such a construction, to say the least, was somewhat strained; that if the French really desired to be treated as natives they ought to be willing to undertake the duties and obligations imposed upon Spaniards, and could have no use for the privileges which they claimed as *transeuntes*.⁸⁶ Yet their case lost some of its sincerity when they urged the alien standing of the French as a reason for the exclusion of the *Compagnie de l'Assiente* and others from the payments made to the creditors of Philip V.⁸⁷

⁸³ Béliardi to Choiseul, Jan. 6 and 12, 1761, B.N., fonds français, 10,764, ff. 201-203; Ossun to Choiseul, Jan. 2, 1764, and June 4, 1764, A.A.É., C.P., Espagne, 540, ff. 6-8, 340-352; Ossun to Grimaldi, April 26, 1771, B.N., fonds français, 10,765, ff. 210; Béliardi to Boynes, May 6, 1771, *ibid.*, 10,765, ff. 208-209; V. L. Brown, "Studies in the History of Spain in the second half of the eighteenth century," in *Smith College Studies in History*, XV, Nos. 1 and 2 (Oct., 1929, Jan., 1930), 52-62.

⁸⁴ The full story is told in Blart, *op. cit.*

⁸⁵ Explication du Pacte de Famille, B.N., fonds français, 10,766, ff. 9-60; Blart, *op. cit.*, p. 51. *Gobierno del Señor Rey D. Carlos III ó Instruccion Reservada . . . dada a luz por D. Andres Muriel* (Paris, 1838), pp. 340-346, scoffs at such claims.

⁸⁶ *Projet d'office* de M. Wall, B.N., fonds français, 10,768, ff. 140-149.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 10,766, ff. 17, 64, 95-96.

Had the French gained the position they desired, combining the best elements of native and extraterritorial status, they would have been in a position to dominate trade with the Indies through Cádiz and other Spanish ports, and that, of course, was one of their objectives. When they found they could not achieve such a status, they negotiated a Franco-Spanish commercial treaty, based largely on the Anglo-Spanish treaty of 1667.⁸⁸ Theoretically, the French already enjoyed all those rights guaranteed to the English by that and later treaties, because of their right to most-favored-nation treatment; but in the eighteenth century only specific commercial treaties were of value, and general promises were almost worthless.⁸⁹ It was a considerable advance for the French to be able to make a commercial treaty with Spain, for there had been constant attempts to do so between 1713 and 1759 and all had ended in failure. The principal object of the treaty was the protection and furtherance of French trade with, and French interests in, Spain itself; but, as most of their trade with the Indies went through Cádiz, the completion of such a treaty was a necessary preliminary to the improvement of their situation in the American market. The French consul and factory in Cádiz certainly regarded the new treaty in that light.⁹⁰ The French had found it impossible to secure any special privileges in Cádiz, but the increased security given by the treaty was felt to be no small gain.

Unfortunately new incidents robbed the French of the real fruits of a long and arduous negotiation. The French Farmers-General raised difficulties over the extension of privileges to Spanish trade in France called for by the treaties, and this naturally led to ill-feeling in Spain.⁹¹ Then the Falkland Islands crisis, when France was unable to implement her promises of assistance to Spain, was a blow which wrecked the Family Compact as a force in European politics. It helped convince the Spaniards that the defense of their empire must rest upon themselves. In 1771, shortly after the

⁸⁸ Printed by Blart, *op. cit.*, Appendix III.

⁸⁹ Koulischer, *op. cit.*

⁹⁰ Cádiz Factory to Praslin, Dec. 10, 1768, Archives Nationales, Paris, Aff. Etr., B 1, 286.

⁹¹ Béliardi to Choiseul, Nov. 30, 1770, B.N., fonds français, 10,770, ff. 147-151.

crisis, they issued an order for the exclusion of all foreign shipments for the Indies from the Cádiz trade, thus publicly reaffirming the doctrine that the Spanish empire was for Spaniards only.⁹² The French factory in Cádiz demanded that if the order was enforced the French government immediately authorize direct trade with the Spanish colonies.⁹³ Franco-Spanish relations were back to normal.

The period of Choiseul's ministry was thus one of unusually close relations between France and Spain, and it was a period when French influence on Spanish counsels was high. Yet the scheme for a planned two-nation economy, in which the Spanish Indies played a crucial rôle, never had a chance of success. The wider aspects of the idea came to grief against Charles III's desire for the commercial and industrial revival of his own country, and against his shrewd perception of the real aims of French policy. Perhaps, indeed, the idea of the economic development of the Family Compact was basically unsound. It represented an attempt to dress in old dynastic trimmings new ideas of national interest, being primarily designed to satisfy not the needs of the Bourbon family, but the requirements of the growing commercial class of France. Perhaps, also, it was out of date, for, as Béliardi saw, Asiatic trade was developing an importance that was soon to diminish that of Spanish-American trade.⁹⁴ The Indies continued for many years to be regarded with envy, and their products continued to be sought; but there was a relative decline in their importance owing to the emergence of new factors and the rise to prominence of other areas. Nevertheless, it was of considerable importance for France's future history that so much diplomatic effort should have been expended in an attempt to satisfy the needs of the growing commercial class, and that it should have been unsuccessful.

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⁹² Brown, *loc. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

⁹³ Béliardi to Boynes, May 6, 1771, B.N., fonds français, 10,765, ff. 208-209.

⁹⁴ Mémoire sur les Philippines, *ibid.*, 10,769, ff. 326-328.

METTERNICH'S ATTITUDE TOWARD REVOLUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Writers on the history of Europe during the post-Napoleonic era have depicted the Austrian diplomat, Prince Metternich, as the unrelenting champion of "Legitimacy," a principle which had been enunciated by Prince Talleyrand at the Congress of Vienna as one to be followed in the reconstruction of Europe. Friedrich Gentz, the secretary of that Congress, not inappropriately declared that this principle was an outcome of the age—a war-weary age which witnessed the promulgation of the curious Treaty of the Holy Alliance. In his *Mémoires* Metternich alleged that in framing this treaty the idealistic Czar intended nothing more than a moral demonstration and that the alliance of monarchs was never mentioned between cabinets. Though the influence of the doctrine of Legitimacy in Europe has been traced with some care and varying estimates have been made of the rôle of the Holy Allies, no comprehensive study has been made of the attitude of Austria toward the insurgent Latin colonies in America. Accordingly several years ago, while carrying on research in the Haus-, Hof-, und Staats-Archiv in Vienna, the writer undertook to ascertain Metternich's views with respect to the rebellious colonies of Spain and Portugal.¹

In the autumn of 1818, while representatives of European monarchies were assembled at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, certain diplomats became apprehensive lest agents of revolted American colonies should try to attend its sessions. The Spanish minister at Vienna, Pedro Cevallos, accordingly made inquiry of Metternich about the admission into the Congress of a messenger from one of those colonies. In response to this hypothetical question the Austrian Prince informed

¹ The inedited documents from the archives of Austria cited in this article were secured by the writer in 1932 while in receipt of a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council. On Russian policy toward Spanish America, see W. S. Robertson, "Russia and the Emancipation of Spanish America, 1816-1826," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXI (1941), 196-221.

him on October 2, 1818, that, if an agent of Spanish-American revolutionists had ventured to approach this Congress, all the diplomats present in its halls would have agreed that such an emissary should not be admitted. Metternich added that the plenipotentiaries were much surprised "that the cabinet of Madrid had given credence to such an absurd rumor and that it actually believed that obscure agents of a revolutionary government might be admitted into so august an assemblage as that of Aix-la-Chapelle."²

Time and again he expressed his opposition to political changes. After an uprising had been started in Spain by Rafael Riego early in 1820, Metternich had misgivings that this revolution was the beginning of "a new era."³ In a circular note which he wrote at the Congress of Troppau after the continental Allies had decided to intervene in the Kingdom of Naples, Metternich stated that the allied monarchs had resolved in no case to recognize a government set up by an insurrection. "Their only desire is to preserve peace, to deliver Europe from the scourge of revolution, and to the extent of their ability to avert or check the evils which arise from the violation of all the precepts of order and morality."⁴ In instructions framed for Austria's delegates at the Congress of Laybach, he urged that the European powers should never recognize a change which was the result of a rebellion.⁵ In a circular dispatch addressed on May 12, 1821, from that Congress to Austrian legations at foreign courts, Metternich declared that the only barrier which the allied sovereigns could oppose to the devastating torrent of revolution was the conservation of "all that is legally established."⁶ On March 6 following in a dispatch to Baron Vincent, who was ambassa-

² (Copy), Metternich to Cevallos, October 2, 1818, enclosure in Cevallos to Casa Yrujo, October 14, 1818, Archivo General de Indias (hereinafter cited as A. G. I.), Estado, 90. Cf. the account of Capodistrias in "Aperçu de ma carrière publique depuis 1798 à 1822," *Sbornik Russkago Istoritcheskago Obschestva*, III, 234.

³ A. Stern, *Geschichte Europas seit den Verträgen von 1815 bis zum Frankfurter Frieden von 1871* (6 vols., Berlin, 1894-1911), II, 120.

⁴ Prince Metternich, *Mémoires, documents et écrits divers* (8 vols., Paris, 1880-1884), III, 420-421.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 422.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 511. See further Metternich's confession of political faith addressed to Czar Alexander I, *ibid.*, 443.

dor to France, Metternich, who had been appointed Chancellor of Austria, reiterated and justified this doctrine:

The principle upon which we found our policy is that of the preservation of things legally existing. It is by following this principle everywhere and in everything that we live in peace and neighborliness with governments which are very differently constituted.⁷

An opportunity to apply this principle to the New World soon occurred. On May 5, 1822, the Austrian minister at St. Petersburg, Baron Lebzeltern, sent a letter to Vienna in which he mentioned the message of President Monroe to Congress on March 8 recommending that the independence of certain revolted Spanish colonies should be acknowledged. In his reply to Lebzeltern a month later, the Chancellor mentioned not only Monroe's message but also a formal plea for the recognition of the republic of Colombia which had been made by Francisco A. Zea, her envoy in Europe. Metternich commented upon these pleas for the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence as follows:

When reflecting about these documents one cannot help being impressed with the progress which revolutionary doctrines must have made so that public men believe themselves authorized to proclaim them as incontestable truths in more or less official declarations. If the political systems upon which these declarations are founded should be generally approved in Europe, it is evident that henceforth the most illegal and the most audacious enterprises will be judged only by their material success, that any revolt would be sanctioned by the mere fact that the results existed *de facto*, and finally that there would no longer prevail among men any other right than that of force or any other bonds than those imposed by the victorious usurpation of a particular moment—bonds which might be dissolved the following moment.

Metternich admitted that because of the Revolution of 1820 conditions in Spain justified the most gloomy apprehensions concerning her future. Fearing that this unfortunate

⁷ Metternich to Vincent, March 6, 1822, Haus-, Hof-, und Staats-Archiv (hereinafter cited as H. H. u. S.), Weisungen nach Frankreich, 350. An erudite discussion of Metternich's views on Legitimacy based on printed materials is found in H. von Srbik, *Metternich, der Staatsman und der Mensch* (2 vols., Munich, 1925), I, 350-414.

nation was threatened with complete dissolution, he anticipated that fresh distributions of power would necessarily take place, that new states would arise in Spanish America, and that European powers would be obliged to make such decisions regarding them as might be determined by circumstances.

But legitimate governments would be false to their principles, to their duties, and even to all the rules of an enlightened policy if they wished to anticipate these melancholy results. As long as there shall exist a Spanish Government under a legitimate sovereign, and as long as that government shall not have legally renounced its authority over its former colonies, the courts of Europe ought to suspend any measure which would consecrate as an integral part of international law what up to the present time has been only the fruit of insurrection and civil war. . . . Whatever may happen, we shall never undertake to deprive the crown of Spain of one of its most precious possessions, nor to sanction by a formal and premature recognition, revolutions to which only a fully demonstrated necessity would some day make us acquiesce. . . . In sum, the union of the powers whose conservative principles have up to the present checked the torrent of general destruction is the last *point d'appui* to which there can be attached the efforts of honest men directed against the innumerable dangers that menace the edifice of European society erected by our ancestors.⁸

On June 4, 1822, Luis Carnero, the Spanish chargé d'affaires at Vienna, addressed to the Austrian Chancellor a note enclosing an undated manifesto of his government protesting against the proposal of the President of the United States to recognize the governments of the insurgent colonies of Spanish America. In this manifesto there was a passage which declared that European governments realized the deplorable results of such an overthrow of principles as had taken place in the Spanish Indies and that they were acutely aware of the effects upon Europe of sanctioning in America the unlimited right of insurrection. Shortly after Metternich received this protest, Carnero had a conference with him. The Spanish chargé expressed hope that the Allied Courts would support the views set forth in Spain's manifesto. In a dispatch to Vincent, Metternich gave an account of his reply to Carnero:

⁸ Metternich to Lebzeltern, June 5, 1822, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Russland, 1.

"You place me," I said to him, "in a peculiar dilemma. You wish the Austrian Cabinet to support the reasoning of the manifesto of Señor Martínez de la Rosa. Indeed at this time I would say to you that the first conclusion which it seems to me impossible not to draw from your views is that there should be applied to the Motherland all that the manifesto contains on the subject of your colonies. Although you make an appeal to law, yet you reject the fact. Return in Spain to law, abandon the fact, and you will be consistent with yourselves. Put down the revolution at home—and then you will be able with justification to oppose the revolution in your colonies. How can you undertake to displace in them revolution by revolution? And why do you wish that the colonies should be condemned for an enterprise entirely like that which the author of the manifesto supports in his own country?"

After some hesitation the chargé replied that Spain was unfortunate but not culpable, that her government did not wish the Revolution of 1820, and that she at no time professed any other political principles than those avowed by Austria. Metternich then informed Carnero that he was preparing a translation of Spain's manifesto for submission to his Master and he anticipated that Francis I would consider the position of the Spanish Government to be self-contradictory. Mentioning the deep interest which the Emperor took in the pretended reforms introduced into Spain by the recent revolution, Metternich declared that that monarch would not authorize a response to Carnero until he had ascertained the views of his Allies: "He will speak or remain silent, according to whether they judge it useful to remain silent or to respond."⁹

In the autumn of 1822 the policy of England toward the revolted Spanish colonies precipitated fresh formulations of policy by the Allies. On November 24 the Duke of Wellington presented to the Congress of Verona a "memorandum on the necessity of some further recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies."¹⁰ On behalf of his government, Metternich replied that though Austria had no relations with those colonies, she respected the motives which impelled England to protect the commerce of her subjects. With regard to *de*

⁹ *Idem* to Vincent, June 13, 1822, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 350.

¹⁰ Duke of Wellington, *Despatches, Correspondence, and Memoranda* (8 vols., London, 1867-1880), I, 386-388.

facto recognition of insurrectionary governments established in the Spanish Indies, however, he explained that "His Imperial Majesty, invariably faithful to the great principles upon which depend the social order and the support of legitimate governments, will never recognize the independence of the Spanish provinces in America so long as His Catholic Majesty shall not have freely and formally renounced the right of sovereignty which he has exercised over them." He added, however, that while Spain herself was under a revolutionary régime, the Emperor would feel free to modify his attitude as long as that change did not cause any prejudice to the legitimate rights of the Spanish monarchy.¹¹

The Chancellor of Austria evidently felt that Spain should be placed under the ban of the continental Allies. From the Congress of Verona he wrote to Vincent, the Austrian ambassador at Paris, that a serious disease affected the social body—a disease which afflicted unhappy Spain. European monarchs should not be deceived about the menace of this evil. Metternich reasoned that the monarchs who guarded "the repose of their subjects and of Europe should assume an attitude strong and precise," an attitude which would demonstrate to the friends of order, as well as to the authors of political disturbances, what was "the decision of the courts."¹²

When Manoel Rodrigues Gameiro Pessoa, an envoy of Brazil that had recently declared her independence of Portugal, appeared at Verona by the tacit permission of Metternich, a discussion took place among the plenipotentiaries there concerning the attitude of the Allies toward this revolted colony. According to Baron Boisilecomte, who served as secretary for the Congress, Metternich reasoned that as Brazil had revolted against illegitimate rule by the Motherland, and as she was maintaining in the New World a monarchical form of government, she should be given different treatment than

¹¹ C. K. Webster, *Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812-1830* (2 vols., London, 1938), II, 80.

¹² Metternich to Vincent, November 27, 1822, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 350. See further A. Nettelement, *Histoire de la restauration* (8 vols., Paris, 1860-1872), VI, 265.

that which was accorded the revolted colonies of Spain. But the Duke of Wellington, who represented England, argued that it would be inconsistent for the Allies, who had refused to receive an agent of Spanish America, to receive an envoy of Portuguese America. Both the French plenipotentiaries, Chateaubriand and La Ferronnays, took the view that this agent should be straightway ordered to leave the city of Verona.¹³

Thus, despite the fact that the Austrian Chancellor evidently wished to make a concession in favor of Gameiro Pessoa because the revolted Portuguese colony had preserved a monarchical form of government, other influential diplomats at the Congress of Verona took a position with respect to an agent from Brazil similar to that which Metternich had taken at Aix-la-Chapelle concerning an emissary of a rebellious Spanish colony. With regard to revolutions in the Spanish Empire, there is no doubt that the Chancellor had a large part in framing the circular dispatch issued by Austria, Prussia, and Russia from Verona which declared that rich colonies were undertaking to justify their separation from the Motherland by the same maxims as those upon which Spain had constructed her own public right—maxims which she wished to condemn in another hemisphere.¹⁴

In November, 1823, the attention of European diplomats was drawn to a memorandum which Secretary Canning had prepared of significant conferences that he had held with the French ambassador at London, Prince Polignac, regarding intervention by European powers to restore Spanish rule in the New World.¹⁵ In his commentary upon the Polignac Memorandum the Austrian Chancellor asserted that he found it impossible to believe that England intended to prohibit continental cabinets from discussing measures which might restore peace and order to the revolted colonies. Further, he

¹³ Baron Boislecote, "Résumé historique du Congrès de Vérone, 1822," Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Correspondance Politique (herein-after cited as A. A. E.), France, 721.

¹⁴ Metternich, *Mémoires*, III, 617.

¹⁵ C. L. Lesur (ed.), *Annuaire historique ou histoire politique et littéraire* (Paris, 1819-1856), 1824, pp. 655-657. See further W. S. Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence* (Baltimore, 1939), pp. 267-274.

maintained that Canning's statement concerning his government's opposition to intervention in Spanish America seemed more like a threat than a well-considered declaration; he reasoned that it would remain without effect, and added:

However that may be, it is indispensable that the powers take such ground that no person can contest their attitude. The affair of the colonies should become at once the object of their common deliberation.¹⁶

The Chancellor also undertook to reply to three questions which had been propounded by Viscount Chateaubriand, the French minister of foreign affairs. With regard to a question concerning what policy Austria would adopt if England should recognize the independence of the revolted colonies without the consent of the mother country, Metternich declared that his government would abide by its declaration embodied in a *procès-verbal* of the Congress of Verona at a time when the King of Spain was in the hands of the Liberal faction, namely that Francis I would never recognize the independence of the Spanish colonies as long as Ferdinand VII had not renounced his right of sovereignty. With regard to the question whether, as Austria had no colonies, she would allow England and France to act alone in this matter, Metternich replied that Austria could scarcely consider herself as foreign to an issue which was so closely associated with the tranquility and well-being of Europe. With regard to another question concerning the adoption of a distinct policy by each European power if Spain persisted in her design of reconquest, he stated that Austria did not believe that any of the other powers should be prevented from proceeding "with respect to the Spanish colonies according to its own judgment and its real or imagined interests."¹⁷

In November, 1823, after the complete text of the Polignac Memorandum came into his hands, Metternich was convinced that it would be a dangerous innovation to carry out Canning's proposal that the United States should be invited to send delegates to a conference of European powers concerning the affairs of Spanish America:

¹⁶ Metternich to Vincent, November 26, 1823, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 355.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

1. Because the United States are not bound by any of the measures which the European Alliance has discussed and executed since 1814 and to which more or less all of the questions for which the powers can be assembled in a congress are related. 2. Because the chief object of a congress, the preservation of peace and of the legitimate order in Europe, is entirely foreign to the United States. 3. Because a large number of the principles recognized and sanctioned by the European powers are not only out of harmony with the fundamental principles of the United States but even opposed to their doctrines, their customs, the form of their government, and the civil and political régime of their people. Friendly relations may exist between European powers and the United States; there may be negotiations, treaties, alliances, and engagements of all kinds between them, but there does not exist a common basis upon which delegates of the United States could sit in a European congress.

Metternich reasoned that the United States was interested in the fate of the Spanish colonies for selfish reasons: she desired to increase her commerce, her territory, and her power. On the other hand, the nations of the Old World were interested in those colonies because of their desire to conserve the European family of states, to preserve their relations with America, and to maintain "the rights and interests of those sovereign families which have, so to speak, created America and which for three centuries have reigned over it."¹⁸

Shortly afterward news of the message of the President of the United States to Congress enunciating the Monroe Doctrine startled European publicists. In a commentary on that message, Gentz declared that this pronouncement of opposition to the restoration by continental powers of the rule of Spain in America should banish all thoughts of the reconquest of the Spanish colonies on the American Continent from the minds of European statesmen.¹⁹ Sir Henry Wellesley, the English ambassador at Vienna, reported to London that the Chancellor of Austria had remarked that Monroe's announcement furnished additional reasons for not allowing an agent from the United States to assist at a European conference on

¹⁸ *Idem to idem*, November 26, 1823 (No. 2), H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 355.

¹⁹ F. Gentz, *Ungedruckte Denkschriften, Tagebücher, und Briefe von Friedrich von Gentz* (Mannheim, 1840), pp. 102-105.

Spanish-American affairs. Metternich declared to Wellesley that this message confirmed his opinion that great calamities would be brought upon Europe by the creation of "vast republics in the New World, in addition to the power of the United States." He condemned the folly of the Spanish Government which cherished the hope of reestablishing the ascendancy over its colonies, but expressed hope that the monarchical principle could be preserved "by vesting in His Catholic Majesty a nominal authority over those possessions or by constituting them independent Monarchies in the persons of individuals of the Spanish Royal Family."²⁰ It is clear that at times Metternich favored the founding of Bourbon appanages in Spanish America.

In a dispatch to Vincent on March 18, 1824, however, that versatile diplomat discussed the problem of the Spanish colonies from other points of view:

On one side, Spain in her rôle as the mother country has a direct interest in conserving the colonies which she still possesses and in regaining, if only in part, those which the insurrection has taken from her. From this viewpoint the interest of the other European powers, far from being in opposition to that of His Catholic Majesty, should on the contrary cause them to desire sincerely to see the colonies restored to the Motherland. . . . From another viewpoint, the powers have a political interest in seeing the colonial problems of Spain decided. The sentiment of her government as well as that of her people may differ in this respect from that of the powers. . . . It is necessary to recognize and even to respect this difference in a situation so grave and so delicate as that of His Catholic Majesty, but the powers should nevertheless try to reach an understanding with this monarch concerning the means of reconciling his rights and interests with the great issue of general pacification.²¹

About a month later, upon learning of Chateaubriand's decision not to acknowledge the independence of the Spanish colonies, Metternich informed Vincent that Austria insisted upon two points:

²⁰ W. S. Robertson, "The Monroe Doctrine Abroad in 1823-24," *American Political Science Review*, VI (1912), 560-561.

²¹ Metternich to Vincent, March 18, 1824, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 360.

1. That the principle of Legitimacy be sanctioned. 2. That Spain should furnish an accurate account of the condition of her colonies. He further maintained that her government should decide by what means it could ensure "the retention of the colonies which it still possesses and the restoration of those which it may reasonably expect to see return to obedience." Furthermore, that government ought also to determine in what manner it should view the emancipation of those colonies which it "might be compelled to consider as definitively lost." The Chancellor was convinced that all the cabinets of Europe would give their moral assent to such a policy.²²

Upon learning from Baron Neumann, the Austrian chargé d'affaires in London, that Canning did not take kindly to Spain's proposal to hold a European conference on Spanish-American affairs, Metternich wrote a long dispatch to that chargé from his splendid mansion at Johannisberg explaining his views. He declared that Austria wished to see established a general peace based upon a sane policy. The march of events had severed the bonds which had long attached some colonies in the New World to certain states of the Old World. A nation that had once been powerful naturally wished to retain her rights over her transatlantic dominions:

No one has contested these rights, but has Spain the means necessary to make them prevail with a hope of success? If she possesses these means, what is the most useful way in which she can employ them? If she does not possess the means to make her rights prevail, how will she be able to retain the colonies which she still controls and to restore her authority in those colonies over which the flames of insurrection have spread but which it is still possible for her to regain?

Metternich maintained that the Allies could not rightly refuse either to consider these questions or to aid Spain with their counsels. Far distant from Vienna, he avowed that he spoke in his own name without fear of being contradicted by the Emperor.²³

While he was on a visit to Paris in April, 1825, the Chan-

²² *Idem* to *idem*, April 21, 1824 (*réservee*), *ibid.*

²³ Metternich to Neumann, June 14, 1824, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach England, 224.

cellor conferred with Count Villèle, the head of the French Cabinet and also had an interview with King Charles X.²⁴ He learned of the decisive battle of Ayacucho in which an army of liberation led by the valiant Venezuelan, General Sucre, had defeated the royalist soldiers commanded by La Serna, the viceroy of Peru. On March 17, 1825, in a letter to Francis I, after mentioning this battle, Metternich discussed the prospect of insurrections against Spanish rule in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and declared that such events would have an unhappy influence upon the fate of civilization.²⁵ In an interview with the Spanish ambassador in Paris, on April 1, 1825, he urged that diplomat to advise his government to send all its available military forces to Cuba in order to demonstrate that it was able to reconquer the insurgent colonies.²⁶ And in a letter written shortly afterward to Gentz, the Chancellor declared that Peru had gone the way of other Spanish colonies which had revolted. Further, he stated that he was attempting to induce the French Cabinet to inquire of the Spanish Government whether it did not wish to take steps to keep control of the remnants of its colonial empire in the West Indies.²⁷

The conditional recognition of the rebellious French colony of Saint-Domingue by an ordinance of Charles X dated April 17, 1825,²⁸ furnished continental diplomats with a fresh occasion for commentaries upon the independence of Latin America. Vincent wrote to Metternich and asserted that Spanish-American insurgents would behold in the acknowledgment of Haitian independence by France a "legitimization of the principle of their insurrection."²⁹ Upon learning of the ordinance of Charles X, Metternich recapitulated the views which he had expressed to Marquis Caraman, the French ambassador at Vienna:

"The present measure," I said to him, "has two distinct sides, the administrative and the political. The administrative side is the

²⁴ J. B. S. J. Villèle, *Mémoires et correspondance* (5 vols., Paris, 1888-1890), V, 170-172, 175-176.

²⁵ Metternich, *Mémoires*, IV, 163.

²⁶ Puebla to Zea Bermúdez, April 2, 1825, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, 5230.

²⁷ Metternich, *op. cit.*, IV, 160.

²⁸ On the recognition of Haiti by France, see W. S. Robertson, *France and Latin-American Independence*, chapter XIII.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 463.

exclusive domain of France, . . . it is not for me to judge her on that score. But the affair is equally political in character. His Very Christian Majesty disposes of his own rights; the King is master of this, and what he does ought to be recognized by the other powers as legitimately accomplished. On the other hand, the renunciation of these rights will have an influence upon the situation of certain parties in the New World and more particularly upon the interests of Spain. . . . The outcome will depend largely upon the manner in which France will explain her decision, upon the tenor of her declaration, and upon the care which she will take to prevent an administrative measure from being interpreted to the injury of the general cause. . . . If she had asked us for advice before undertaking to commence action, we would have made remonstrances against the execution of a plan which is being carried out at a time that indisputably is not opportune."³⁰

While continental Spanish America was winning its independence of Spain, the political régime of Portuguese America was gradually being altered. This transformation was largely a result of the dramatic flight in 1807-1808 of the dynasty of Braganza from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro. On December 16, 1815, Regent John announced that Portuguese America had been elevated to the rank of a kingdom. Several years later, on the banks of the Ypiranga, Regent Pedro, who became the ruler of Brazil after his father, King John VI, had returned to Portugal, declared that this colony was independent of the Motherland. At Rio de Janeiro in October, 1822, Pedro was proclaimed Emperor of Brazil.³¹ Hostilities soon broke out in that country between followers of the son and partisans of the father. After a naval and military struggle lasting several months, the Brazilian revolutionists won their independence. By December, 1823, the status of the revolted Portuguese colony, which was ruled by a scion of the same dynasty that reigned over Portugal, presented a delicate and complicated problem to legitimist statesmen.

Meanwhile the court of Rio de Janeiro had instructed Antonio Telles da Silva, a friend of Pedro I who was an

³⁰ Metternich to Vincent, June 26, 1825, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 365.

³¹ *Centenario da independência do Brasil; aclamação e côração do Príncipe D. Pedro, primeiro imperador constitucional do Brasil* (5 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1922), I, 50.

amateur in diplomacy, to proceed to Austria as envoy extraordinary where he was to explain the reasons for the separation of Brazil from the motherland. After his arrival at Vienna in July, 1823, Telles da Silva had a series of conferences with Gentz and Metternich. He soon became aware that they favored a monarchical régime for his country. In an unofficial conference with Emperor Francis I, who was the father-in-law of Pedro I, the envoy learned, however, that this monarch deprecated the framing of a written constitution for Brazil and that he considered good customs and respect for religion as more useful than impractical theories. Early in August, 1824, Telles da Silva was empowered to negotiate a treaty with Austria acknowledging Brazilian independence. Soon afterward Metternich defended the Holy Alliance to him against those demagogues who had denounced it as scheming to enthrone despots upon the ruins of representative institutions. The Chancellor stated that the sole object of the Holy Allies was "to destroy the fatal germs of revolution" and that to ensure this they had adopted as their basis "the solid, conservative principle of Legitimacy."³² Further, he expressed displeasure with the liberal Constitution which had recently been promulgated for Portuguese America:

From the very beginning your government has cherished the most perilous ideas and what is most singular, although struggling against the Portuguese revolutionists, it has nevertheless imitated all their acts. By establishing revolutionary institutions it set itself in opposition to the allied sovereigns who undertook to abolish them. The manner in which you later announced your independence and the sovereign title of your Regent was a frontal attack upon the principle of Legitimacy. . . . Your Master is a young man and neither he nor José Bonifácio had had experience in such matters. Both wished in good faith to create a monarchical government, but they deceived themselves in the choice of means and established a republic or better to say an anarchy. . . . You framed a constitution which contains certain ideas that are perilous and others that are impracticable. . . . Above all, the dogma of the sovereignty of the people . . . is extremely dangerous everywhere and most dangerous in a land full of slaves. The liberty of the press is another dogma which exposes you to the most imminent

³² *Arquivo diplomático da independência* (6 vols., Rio de Janeiro, 1922), IV, 8, 19, 58-67, 105.

danger in a country where the majority of those who are able to write are imbued with unorthodox principles.³³

The cabinet of Lisbon requested Austria to mediate between Brazil and the mother country. Anticipating that a diplomatic agent of the estranged colony would address himself to the English Government, on April 22, 1824, Metternich wrote to the Austrian chargé d'affaires in London and expressed the opinion that, should this be the case, interposition by his government would be facilitated; for he believed that the ideas of the English ministers concerning Brazil agreed with those of Austria, that they anticipated the preservation there of a monarchical government and an arrangement which would assure the Brazilian crown to the dynasty of Braganza. In conclusion he cautioned Neumann that Austria would under no circumstances enter into any negotiation in which John VI did not take part and which did not have as its sole object a pacification based upon the reciprocal consent of both Portugal and Brazil.³⁴

On May 12 in a dispatch to Vincent, after mentioning that Austria had declined to mediate between "a legitimate monarch and his son placed at the head of an insurrection," the Chancellor stated that his government would never acknowledge the independence of Brazil as long as the King of Portugal had not taken such action. Declaring that it was difficult to determine what would be the policy of France toward Pedro I, Metternich said:

Whatever that may be, there is nothing that we hold closer to our heart than the triumph of Legitimacy over all the obstacles which it may encounter. Our decision is clear. We shall no more acknowledge the independence of Brazil than that of a Spanish colony, at least unless recognition by the two monarchs of the independence of their respective colonies permits us to consider their separation as legally accomplished. The more we wish not to violate the principle of Legitimacy, the more we desire that His Catholic Majesty and His Very Faithful Majesty should both take the measures most apt to

³³ *Ibid.*, 159-161.

³⁴ Metternich to Neumann, April 25, 1824, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach England, 224.

ensure a result which would directly secure their interests and the maintenance of tranquillity in Europe.³⁵

Meanwhile two commissioners of Brazil, General Felisberto Caldeira Brant and Manoel Rodrigues Gameiro Pessoa, had arrived in London and solicited the good offices of both England and Austria to settle the controversy with Portugal. On July 12, 1824, those commissioners held the first of a series of conferences there with the Portuguese ambassador, Count Villa Real, in the presence of Canning and Neumann. Certain of these conferences were also attended by Prince Esterhazy, the Austrian ambassador at London. In sum, the Brazilians urged that the *de facto* independence of their country should be recognized, while on the other hand the Portuguese ambassador insisted that the revolted colony should acknowledge the suzerainty of John VI. At conferences on August 11 and 12 Esterhazy and Neumann rightly declared that their government was striving to act impartially between the disputants and that it desired to promote a settlement. The Austrian delegation, however, declined to transmit to their government a project of reconciliation framed by Canning which impinged upon the sovereign rights of Portugal.³⁶ Soon afterward the joint attempt of Austria and England to reconcile the parties was relinquished. Canning then sent the English ambassador at Paris, Sir Charles Stuart, on a special mission to Lisbon.³⁷

Though still uncertain about the exact mode in which the Portuguese-Brazilian knot was to be untied, by the end of January, 1825, Metternich intimated to Telles da Silva that when his government had made a satisfactory adjustment with Portugal, Austria would recognize the independence of Brazil.³⁸ During the Chancellor's visit to Paris in the spring of 1825, he held a conference with Viscount Pedra Branca, the Brazilian chargé d'affaires to France, who was pleading with her ministers for the recognition of his country's independence.

³⁵ Metternich to Vincent, May 12, 1824, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 360.

³⁶ M. de Oliveira Lima, *Historia diplomatica do Brasil; o reconhecimento do Imperio* (Rio de Janeiro, 1902), pp. 332-333.

³⁷ H. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning* (London, 1925), pp. 220-221. See further Webster, *Britain and the Independence of Latin America*, I, 288-290.

³⁸ *Archivo diplomatico da independencia*, IV, 193.

During that interview the Austrian statesman mentioned the violation of the principle of Legitimacy in Brazil—a principle without which all monarchies would crumble. According to his report to Rio de Janeiro, the Viscount then asked some pertinent questions concerning the prospective status of Pedro I:

Is there a monarch who cannot recognize in the person of His Imperial Majesty the Saviour of the monarchical principle in the New World, the angel whom God has sent to perform miracles there? Could not Dom Pedro ascend the throne? Could he withdraw from Brazil? "No!" responded Metternich, "assuredly not, and it would be ungrateful not to recognize the important service which he has rendered to the cause of the monarchs."

Pedra Branca then asked why the recognition of Pedro I was postponed. He declared that the acknowledgment of Spanish-American independence by certain states had encouraged those persons who opposed monarchical forms; he even expressed a fear that the republican reaction in America might menace Europe. The Chancellor replied that Francis I had already made great efforts to persuade the King of Portugal to recognize accomplished facts. In reply to Metternich's criticism of the Brazilian Constitution, Pedra Branca asserted "that the Empire of Brazil was obliged to offer as many attractions as the republics which were its neighbors, if it did not wish to expose itself, by losing the attractions of a well-understood liberalism to being split up into several small republics."²⁹

This interview was evidently not without influence upon the attitude of Austria. Soon after his return to Vienna, in a dispatch to Esterhazy, Metternich formulated the policy to be followed in respect to Brazil:

The Austrian Cabinet considers the situation of Portugal with regard to Brazil as entirely different from that of Spain with respect to her colonies. By manifest emanations of sovereign authority, Portuguese America has lost the character of a colony. It has been

²⁹ Baron de Loreto, "Reconnaissance de l'Empire du Brésil par les puissances européennes (1823-1828)," quoting a dispatch of Pedra Branca to his court dated April 1, 1825, found in the Brazilian archives. *Revue d'histoire diplomatique*, III, 515-516.

declared to be a kingdom and an integral part of the Portuguese monarchy. Such is not the status of any of the Spanish colonies. The heir presumptive to the joint throne of Portugal and Brazil resides in the last-mentioned of these kingdoms by virtue of special authorization by the reigning King. The ample powers which the heir has been allowed are, so to speak, unlimited. . . . Independence is demanded by Brazil. This step is popular in that country and it is possible that the last security of the dynasty of Braganza is to be found in the support of Brazilian independence. These considerations demonstrate that there is a significant difference between the Spanish and the Portuguese situations.

In undertaking to intervene between father and son within certain limits His Imperial Majesty has decided that never and in view of no hypothesis will Austria prejudice in anything the question of right, that she acknowledges it to be entirely vested in the person of the reigning King of Portugal, and that consequently she does not recognize in Brazil an existence which would not be conceded to her by His Very Faithful Majesty. The progress of the negotiations has furnished proof of the scrupulous care of the Emperor to avoid departing from this rule. . . .⁴⁰

The Chancellor declared that the Austrian Cabinet was convinced that England had pursued an entirely different line of conduct toward Portugal from that which she had followed toward Spain. As he had found nothing objectionable in English policy toward the Court of Lisbon, he had directed Austrian diplomatic agents both at Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro to favor the mode of reconciliation proposed by Canning. Those diplomats were to refuse their support, however, to any proposal of the English Government which would fail to observe the legitimate rights of His Very Faithful Majesty.⁴¹

In a dispatch to Vincent a month later, Metternich expressed much satisfaction upon having learned that the negotiations which were going on at Lisbon between Sir Charles Stuart and Portuguese ministers concerning Portuguese-Brazilian relations indicated that "the monarchical principle

⁴⁰ Metternich to Esterhazy, April 19, 1825, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach England, 227. The Brazilian historian, J. P. Calogeras, in his *Formação histórica do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), pp. 143-144, depicts Metternich as more sympathetic toward Brazil than is revealed by his dispatches to Austrian diplomats at foreign courts. See further, M. de Vasconcelos, *Motivos de história diplomática do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1930), pp. 96-98. . . .⁴¹ *Ibid.*

would be maintained in Europe and fortified in America." He declared that his government was happy that in this matter the organs of British power were again "placed in line with the essential principles of stability and guarantee of the public order."⁴²

Meanwhile the mission of Stuart to Lisbon had borne good fruit. On May 13, 1825, King John VI of Portugal signed a diploma by which he recognized the Kingdom of Brazil as an independent Empire, distinct from the Kingdom of Portugal and the Algarve. Furthermore, John VI ceded all his rights over the Brazilian Empire to his son Pedro. Bearing this charter of concession, Stuart embarked for Rio de Janeiro. There on behalf of Portugal he signed with Brazilian diplomats on August 29, a treaty by which John VI formally recognized Pedro I as Emperor of Brazil.⁴³

The Portuguese minister at Vienna, Baron Villa Secca, formally notified the Austrian Chancellery on December 12, 1825, that his government had acknowledged Brazilian independence.⁴⁴ On December 30 by a reply to Villa Secca, Metternich formally recognized the independence of the Brazilian Empire on behalf of Austria. A sentence from that notification reads as follows:

His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty, having nothing more at heart than to end the controversy which has arisen in the domains of the house of Braganza and to defer to the wishes expressed simultaneously both by His Very Faithful Majesty, John VI, the Emperor of Brazil and King of Portugal and the Algarve, and by His Imperial Majesty, Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, declares that he recognizes in whatever concerns him the separation of the two sovereignties above-mentioned of Portugal and Brazil as well as the titles of their monarchs, without, however, conceding that from the titles adopted by the two states there should result because of the ties of blood any change to the prejudice of the powers of Europe.⁴⁵

⁴² Metternich to Vincent, May 17, 1825, H. H. u. S., Weisungen nach Frankreich, 365.

⁴³ Oliveira Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-357.

⁴⁴ Villa Secca to Metternich, December 12, 1825, H. H. u. S., Portugal, Varia, 8.

⁴⁵ Metternich to Villa Secca, December 30, 1825, *ibid.* Cf. R. A. de Campos, *Relações diplomáticas do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1913), 17, who asserts that the Marquis of Rezende was received by Francis I on December 27, 1825.

A copy of this note was also sent to Telles da Silva who had meanwhile been made the Marquis of Rezende.⁴⁶ The Chancellor soon took occasion to express his views concerning the separation of Brazil from Portugal in letters to Baron Marschal, the chargé d'affaires of Austria at the Court of Rio de Janeiro. In a cipher dispatch dated January 8, 1826, Metternich urged Marschal to embrace every opportunity to urge Pedro I to use the advantage offered by the recognition of his independent political status to establish his government upon bases that were more monarchical than those furnished by the liberal political principles which he had accepted during the revolutionary movement.⁴⁷

In sum, the attitude of Metternich toward revolutions in America was in harmony with the principle of Legitimacy which had been partially applied to the European Continent. Notice should be taken, however, that the views which he expressed concerning revolutions in the New World were scarcely as severe as the judgments he pronounced upon revolts in the Old World. With respect to the Spanish colonies he even expressed the opinion that each of the Allied Powers should feel free to act according to its own interest. It appears that with regard to the colonies of both Spain and Portugal he was influenced by the views of His Imperial Master, who was sympathetic with regard to the policies pursued by the motherlands. Though the Prince at times exposed himself to the charge that he was all things to all men, yet he consistently advocated a respect for existing laws and deprecated any attempt to overthrow time-honored institutions in America as well as in Europe. He made known that the government of Austria did not intend to acknowledge the rebellious Spanish-American colonies as independent so long as the motherland had not taken that momentous step. Further, he maintained that other governments of Europe should also refrain from recognizing the Spanish nations of the New World.

Metternich looked with disfavor upon a proposal that the government at Washington should be invited to send delegates

⁴⁶ *Archivo diplomático da independência*, IV, 233.

⁴⁷ Metternich to Marschal, January 8, 1826, H. H. u. S., Brasilien Correspondenz, 11.

to a congress convoked to consider Latin-American affairs. As indicated by his reaction to the original Monroe Doctrine, he viewed the United States as a menace to the European political system. In the end he became convinced that Ferdinand VII should recognize the futility of his attempt to reconquer the revolted colonies and should endeavor to conserve the remnants of his colonial Empire in the West Indies. Still, he lamented the example set by France in 1825 of acknowledging the independence of her revolted colony which had become the Black Republic of Haiti. As in the case of both Canning and Chateaubriand during this era, the Austrian diplomat occasionally looked with favor upon proposals to create Bourbon monarchies in Spanish America.

His policy was somewhat different with regard to Brazil. The preservation of monarchical institutions there, liberal though they were, reconciled him in large measure to the separation of that colony from Portugal. Especially in connection with Portuguese-Brazilian issues, the Prince mentioned the Holy Alliance as an active force that supported the doctrine of Legitimacy in European affairs. Even though Francis I seems to have been favorably inclined toward Brazil because of his relationship to Pedro I, Metternich did not favor an acknowledgment of her independent status by Austria until by the intercession of England John VI had agreed to recognize his son Pedro as the Emperor of that vast domain. When that concession had been made to Legitimacy, the Knight of Legitimist Thrones promptly followed suit.

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SPANISH-MEXICAN DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, 1853-1855

Spanish-Mexican diplomatic relations between 1853 and 1855 were shaped principally by the efforts of the Mexican dictator, Antonio López de Santa Anna, to obtain a Spanish defensive alliance backed by France and Great Britain. He and his first foreign minister, Lucas Alamán, believed that the great powers wished to maintain the balance of power in North America; and they seem to have felt that the recent election of Franklin Pierce, the widely suspected designs of the United States on Cuba and northern Mexico, and the dominance of the conservative party in Spain¹ also favored their project.

In consequence, the French minister to Mexico, M. Levasseur, received a suggestion on April 30, 1853, that his nation begin negotiations with Great Britain and Spain to protect Mexico from the United States.² Subsequently, Alamán ordered Buenaventura Vivó, the new Mexican minister to Madrid, to tell the Spaniards that Mexico would coöperate fully with them, if guaranteed the integrity of her territory and free navigation in the Gulf of Mexico.³ Then, on July 30, Mexico instructed her ministers in Great Britain, France, and Spain to secure definite guarantees of aid from those nations, and treaties of alliance if possible.⁴ In November, when the William Walker filibustering expedition attacked Lower California, the Mexican foreign office, fearing that the raiders were backed by the United States, hurriedly sent pleas for faster action to its European legations. Vivó alone received

¹ The Spanish government even honored Santa Anna with the Order of Charles III at his inaugural ceremony. *Weekly Picayune* (New Orleans), May 16, 1853.

² Dexter Perkins, *The Monroe Doctrine, 1826-1867* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 321.

³ Buenaventura Vivó, *Memorias de Buenaventura Vivó, ministro de Méjico en España durante los años 1853, 1854, y 1855* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1856), pp. 3, 53-54.

From the historian's viewpoint, Vivó was an extremely happy choice for the Spanish mission. After he was relieved of his duties, he prepared the valuable work just cited. It consists almost entirely of transcripts and summaries of his official correspondence.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59, 69-71.

three such letters dated within four days of each other.⁵ This war scare abated when United States Minister James Gadsden signed the Mesilla Treaty in December, 1853; and, for a time, it was rumored that Santa Anna might drop his plan to get European help.⁶ The troubled state of Europe in the spring of 1854 even led Minister Vivó to recommend that he be authorized to suspend negotiations temporarily; but the men in Mexico City were not yet convinced that their scheme was impractical, and permission was refused. He continued, therefore, to work for an alliance until March, 1855, when a similar recommendation was finally approved.⁷ Five months later, the revolution of Ayutla triumphed.

The facts just reviewed show that Santa Anna worked diligently to secure an alliance with Spain, and they suggest an inquiry into the reasons why he failed. One important factor was the collapse of his broader scheme to form a triple *entente* or alliance in which Great Britain, France, and Spain were to participate. The Count of San Luis, who served as premier of Spain from September, 1853, to July, 1854, frankly expressed his unwillingness to negotiate for a Mexican alliance while the attitudes of France and Great Britain remained uncertain; and Vivó firmly believed that Spain would not act until France took a decisive step.⁸ Unfortunately for the Mexicans, the menace and reality of the Crimean War almost monopolized the attention of France and Great Britain. Thus preoccupied, they could not risk antagonizing the United States, especially after the promulgation of the violent Ostend Manifesto of 1854. The Mexican minister in London stated emphatically that Great Britain would not jeopardize her friendly relations with the United States in order to support Mexico;⁹ and Benito Gómez Farías opined that no "nation on this continent [Europe] would compromise herself uselessly to favor Mexico, incurring the displeasure of the United States, from which country they have much more to fear and expect than from

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77, 79-81; Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

⁶ Benito Gómez Farías to Valentín Gómez Farías, December 30, 1853, Gómez Farías Papers, García Collection, The University of Texas.

⁷ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 85-89, 92-94, 96-97.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72, 85-87.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 95-96.

ours."¹⁰ In the last analysis, France and Great Britain could have gained little by assisting backward, disorganized Mexico; and it was generally recognized that nothing would influence them more favorably than news that she had achieved internal stability and was about to adopt a liberal commercial policy.¹¹

Spain's military, economic, and political weaknesses partly explain her refusal to form an alliance with Mexico while the other states withheld their support. She had been a third-rate power since the death of Charles III; and her domestic instability during the 'fifties was notorious. When Vivó arrived in Madrid in July, 1853, the Lersundi-Egaña bloc was in control; but the San Luis ministry succeeded it in the following September, and the July revolution of 1854 brought in the Espartero-O'Donnell clique. These short-lived governments all showed interest in Mexico's proposals, but they were too much occupied with internal affairs to give the proposals proper consideration. Thus, it is easy to understand why Vivó regarded Spain's troubled domestic condition as one of the most serious difficulties in the way of his negotiations.¹²

Spain's impotence, without French and British backing, partially explains her lack of enthusiasm for the proffered Mexican alliance, but it was not the only reason for her cautious attitude. It seems probable that she did not regard her danger from the United States as imminent, and refused the dubious future assistance of Mexico for fear of provoking the American expansionists to take immediate action.¹³ It is also likely that she saw a possibility of being drawn into a purely Mexican war which she could otherwise avoid. Santa Anna certainly feared a war with the United States prior to the signing of the Mesilla Treaty;¹⁴ and it is reasonable to assume

¹⁰ Benito Gómez Farías to Valentín Gómez Farías, December 30, 1853. Gómez Farías Papers.

¹¹ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 435-439.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 34-52, 54-57, 88-89, 97.

¹³ In April, 1854, Vivó stated that a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between Spain and Mexico would "alarm the United States, which would not fail to take advantage of it as a pretext for new complaints." *Ibid.*, p. 87.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-77, 79-81; Antonio López de Santa Anna to Antonio Corona, July 13, 1853, and December 17, 1853, Crímenes de los generales Santa-Anna y Corona comprobados por ellos mismos, I, Department of Manuscripts, National Library, Mexico, D. F.

that the Spanish ministers in Mexico and the United States knew this. At any rate, rumors of coming hostilities circulated freely north of the Rio Grande; and, during September, 1853, newspapers reported large troop movements into the Southwest.¹⁵

Three serious diplomatic controversies likewise appear to have kept Spain and Mexico apart. Indeed, they destroyed the initial Spanish friendship for Santa Anna, and the good effects of his substantial concessions. It is possible, of course, that Spain never seriously considered the Mexican project, and kept it alive merely to extort favors; but, in any case, the matters in controversy were important enough to merit a careful examination.

The most serious of these controversies arose over Spanish claims. The principal question at issue was whether Spaniards holding obligations of the Mexican government should receive payment ahead of other creditors of the internal debt. It had long served as a stumbling block for diplomats and politicians.

The Mexicans, by a statute of 1824, promised to pay all debts contracted by the viceregal government in Mexico up to September 17, 1810, and those contracted with Mexicans during the War for Independence.¹⁶ In the Treaty of Madrid of 1836, they assumed all other viceregal debts of the revolutionary period.¹⁷ To these creditors others were added as Spaniards suffered damages in revolutions or other disturbances for which the Republic was held responsible. The credits depreciated greatly through lack of service; but they did

¹⁵ *Weekly Picayune*, June 13, 1853; August 15, 1853; September 5, 1853; and October 10, 1853.

¹⁶ Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano, *Legislación mexicana, ó colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la independencia de la República* (11 vols., Mexico, 1867-79), I, 709.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 389-391.

Mexican officials attacked the treaty because it conflicted with the law of 1824, but a Mexican legislative commission of 1842 ruled that it had superseded the statute. José María Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios pendientes entre México y España presentado al Excmo. Sr. Ministro de Estado por el representante de la República. El día 28 de julio de 1857* (Poissy, 1857), pp. 69-73; Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 172-174.

not become a subject of diplomatic controversy until 1847, when the Spanish minister asked that a special fund be created for servicing them. Mexico resisted for a time, but finally signed a convention embodying most of the Spanish demands.¹⁸

The convention was extremely unpopular in Mexico. In the first place, it granted definitive, official recognition, previously withheld, to credits covered by the treaty of 1836. Secondly, it established a fund which could be extended to cover future claims presented by the Spanish minister. Thirdly, it entrusted the administration of the fund to a person, or persons, to be named by the Spanish minister. Fourthly, there were doubts as to its legality, because it was negotiated without the consent of Congress. Finally, it was asserted that it converted an internal debt into a foreign, or privileged, debt in contravention of the rights of other creditors, in violation of Article 7 of the treaty of 1836, and in detriment to Mexican national honor. As a matter of fact, public sentiment was so strongly opposed to the convention that the post-war administration not only refused to put it into operation, but even feared to submit it to the congress then sitting. Spain naturally protested vigorously; but she achieved no results until November, 1851, when she obtained a new convention negotiated by Mexican Foreign Minister J. Fernando Ramírez under congressional authorization.¹⁹

The new agreement protected all the credits previously covered; but it established a new method for examining and liquidating old and future claims, and lowered the interest and amortization rates first established.²⁰ The Mexican press and the opposition party in Congress at once attacked it bitterly, charging that it continued to treat domestic debts as foreign obligations, and that it perpetuated the pro-Spanish interpre-

¹⁸ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, pp. 73-74; Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 174-176; *Derecho internacional mexicano, primera parte. Tratados y convenciones concluidos y ratificados por la República Mexicana desde su independencia hasta el año actual, acompañados de varios documentos que les son referentes* (Mexico, 1878), pp. 401-403.

¹⁹ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, pp. 74-75; Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 176-184.

²⁰ *Derecho internacional mexicano, primera parte*, pp. 403-406.

tation of the treaty of 1836. In addition, they asserted that Ramírez had exceeded his instructions in arranging for the settlement of future claims, and that he had conceded guarantees not authorized by the government. When rumors began to circulate that credits of non-Spanish origin and ownership were being honored, the Chamber of Deputies impeached Ramírez, who was absolved only after the Spanish minister agreed secretly to make the status of Spanish credits of the revolutionary period a subject for future discussions. The work of examining and liquidating the claims then continued;²¹ and, by October 5, 1852, nineteen claims had been examined and liquidated, the creditors receiving P546,250 in Mexican bonds. Claims whose sum vastly exceeded that amount were still pending when battle over the convention was again joined.²²

Controversy was revived because Spain refused to reopen the discussion about credits of the revolutionary period. The Mexican Chamber of Deputies responded by forbidding the further issuance of bonds, suspending the liquidation of credits still pending, and demanding that the entire convention be submitted to it for consideration. Mexico continued to meet interest payments on the bonds already issued, but Spanish claims were still a dangerous subject when the feeble Arista administration collapsed.²³

Santa Anna's election presaged an amicable settlement, but even a temporary solution took several months to achieve. On May 19, 1853, Lucas Alamán told the Marqués de la Ribera, the Spanish minister, that pre-independence credits should be excluded from the convention because Spaniards were not entitled to be treated better than other creditors of the internal debt. Ribera refused to negotiate on this basis; but the Mexicans held fast, even after Alamán's death in June, 1853. On August 29, the Spanish envoy proposed some slight modifications in the convention, but threatened to withdraw from his

²¹ Lafragua, *Memorandum de los negocios*, pp. 79-81; Lorenzo Carrera, Manuel Gargollo, and Bernardo Copea, *España y Méjico en el asunto de la convención española* (Madrid, Aguado, 1855), pp. 23-30. (This work, compiled by three creditors, naturally reflects the Spanish viewpoint.)

²² Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 185-195.

²³ *Ibid.*, 198-202; Carrera et al., *España y Méjico*, pp. 31-32.

legation if its terms were not fulfilled. This threat he actually made good on October 9.²⁴

Manuel Díez de Bonilla, the new Mexican foreign minister, now asked that Ribera be recalled, but before Madrid took action the situation in Mexico changed radically, for Santa Anna induced the indignant Marquis to reopen negotiations. Nine discussions resulted in the signing of a treaty on November 12, 1853.²⁵ This new agreement declared the convention of 1851 subsistent, and extended the time limit for the qualification and liquidation of credits, exempting those already liquidated from revision. It introduced extensive changes in the procedure for validating and adjusting claims, but stipulated that future alterations might only be made with the consent of both contracting parties.²⁶

The negotiators apparently felt that changing the convention into a treaty would guarantee a lasting settlement; and, for a time, their faith seemed justified. The Mexican government fulfilled its promises by recognizing and liquidating the claims presented to it and by meeting interest payments on the special bonds. The creditors hastened to elect their financial agent. In fact, all parties carefully observed the treaty until December, 1854, when Spain and Mexico once more became involved in a quarrel over claims.²⁷

Long before this dispute revived, a second one arose. In the spring of 1853, the kidnaping of forty Yucatecan Indians, who were sold as slaves in Cuba, gave Mexico a claim to push against Spain and an opportunity to interest herself in the condition of a hundred and thirty-five Mayas who had been taken to Cuba under ten-year labor contracts in 1849. These unfortunates, captured while participating in a race war, netted the State of Yucatán twenty-five pesos apiece; and it was under passports issued by Governor Miguel Barbachano that they were admitted to Cuba. There they were allegedly

²⁴ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, pp. 82-86; Carrera et al., *España y Méjico*, p. 33; Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 202-226.

²⁵ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, p. 87; Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 226-247.

²⁶ *Derecho internacional mexicano, primera parte*, pp. 409-414.

²⁷ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, p. 87; Carrera et al., *España y Méjico*, pp. 35-37.

treated as serfs, and subjected to cruel and unusual punishments for minor offenses. Buenaventura Vivó, then Mexican consul in Havana, tried to help them, but accomplished nothing because the Spaniards refused to treat him as a diplomatic agent. Public opinion in Mexico prevented the exportation of other Indians and brought an official reprimand for Governor Barbachano; but it failed to achieve the repatriation of the poor victims.²⁸

Ramón Caballo, Vivó's successor in Havana, disclosed the enslavement of these Yucatecans to Bonilla on July 23. He reported that a number of Yucatecans had been shanghaied on an English fishing boat, the *Jenny Lind*, transferred to a Spanish vessel, and delivered to D. Francisco Martí y Torrens in Havana. On August 1, Bonilla instructed Caballo to demand the release and return of the enslaved Indians, and urged Minister Ribera to intercede with the Captain General of Cuba in their behalf.²⁹ His conduct up to this point was irreproachable; and, if he had confined himself to these representations, trouble with Spain might have been avoided. But Caballo had reported on July 15, that the royal *Junta de fomento* was considering a vast scheme to import contracted Yucatecans, and that a few were already being smuggled out of Mexico. In consequence, Bonilla decided to take advantage of the kidnaping incident to attack the so-called colonization scheme, and even to make representations in behalf of the Indians of 1849. His letter of August 2 to Ribera stated that Mexico would not tolerate further attempts to enslave her citizens, and that claims would be entered at Madrid for the liberation and indemnification of the Mexicans exported four years previously.³⁰

²⁸ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 302-309, 316; Carlos R. Menéndez, *Historia del infame y vergonzoso comercio de indios* . . . (Mérida, 1923), pp. 97-134; José García de Arbolea, *España y Méjico* (Habana, 1861, 2 vols.), pp. 148-151.

²⁹ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 318-319.

³⁰ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 309-310; García de Arbolea, *España y Méjico*, p. 151.

In view of the fact that Caballo sent news about the contracting project a week before he reported the *Jenny Lind* affair, it seems logical to assume that Bonilla's antipathy toward contract labor and his sudden interest in the Indians of 1849 were born of the kidnaping incident. Possibly his representations of August 2 were designed to bolster Mexico's position as a negotiator in the matter of the kidnaped Indians and the Spanish claims.

Ribera readily agreed to intercede with the Captain General in behalf of the *Jenny Lind* victims; but he hastened to deny that the Yucatecans had been enslaved or mistreated, and to declare that responsibility for their status rested on unpunished ex-Governor Barbachano. He even asked that Indians desiring to do so be permitted to emigrate to Cuba. Bonilla restated his original contentions on August 25, adding that Mexican law voided any contract which fully or partially deprived a citizen of his freedom, and that his government would not permit any more of its people to be alienated by force or deception. He asserted that Barbachano had been indicted for breach of trust in 1849, but admitted that the case was still untried.³¹

Bonilla then transferred the controversy to Madrid by ordering the Mexican minister to ask that the contracted Indians be liberated, and that the Cuban authorities be instructed to exclude Mexican Indians not having passports signed either by the Mexican minister of foreign relations or the governor of Yucatán. He was also told to enter claims, without fixing any definite sum, for damages suffered by the unfortunate Mayas.³² Vivó communicated the first two requests on October 21, but did not enter the claims because he feared they might endanger other negotiations. He pointed out to Bonilla the inconsistency inherent in the demand for indemnity, asserting that Spain had been acting as Mexico now requested her to act when she admitted the Indians of 1849 under gubernatorial passports. He also advised his government to reconsider its position, and to base its attack on the cruelty of the Cuban *reglamento* for foreign laborers.³³

The Spanish foreign minister, replying to Vivó's note, stated that Spain could not cancel the contracts of 1849; but he promised an investigation of the treatment the Indians were receiving, and asserted that the Cuban authorities had already been told to exclude Mexicans not having passports signed by their minister of relations or the governor of Yucatán.³⁴ In the meantime, the British became interested in

³¹ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 311-314; García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, p. 152.

³² Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 319-320.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 321-333.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 339-340.

the *Jenny Lind* affair. Their officials in Honduras arrested and convicted Anduce, the charterer of the vessel, for kidnaping, and seized a compromising correspondence between him and Martí y Torrens. The British consul general in Havana then demanded the immediate release and return of Anduce's victims.³⁵ Vivó thereupon hastened to present claims for their restitution and indemnification, stressing the prompt action Britain had taken in the matter.³⁶

Shortly thereafter, the Cuban authorities awoke. On January 5, 1854, the Captain General told Caballo that an investigation regarding the kidnaped Indians had been made; that Martí y Torrens had been instructed to convey all but four of the survivors back to Yucatán; and that the courts were prosecuting the persons responsible for the incident. By the end of January, all the natives scheduled to return to Mexico had been embarked. The Mexican foreign office then dropped its demand for an indemnity.³⁷

Unfortunately, Mexico also abandoned her efforts in behalf of the Indians of 1849, and even allowed, for a time, the exportation of additional contracted laborers. As late as December 3, 1853, Bonilla ordered Vivó to enter damage claims immediately in behalf of Barbachano's victims,³⁸ but the publication of a more humane *reglamento* for Asiatic and Indian workers in Cuba,³⁹ and the solution of the *Jenny Lind* affair appear to have satisfied him completely. At any rate, on January 30, 1854, he informed Vivó that D. Tito Visino, the Bavarian consul in Havana, had received Santa Anna's permission to import Yucatecans into Cuba. Vivó was told to represent this concession to the Spanish government "as proof of the friendly sentiments of the Republic toward Spain," and to ask that consular intervention for the prospective immigrants be allowed.⁴⁰

With victory freely conceded to her, Spain further liberalized the *reglamento* for contracted laborers; but she disregarded Mexico's request for the right of consular intervention,

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 341-344.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 333-336.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-347.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 344-345.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 347-349; *Diario oficial del gobierno de la república mejicana* (Mexico, D. F., 1854), January 16-19, 1854, and January 23, 1854.

⁴⁰ Vivó, *Memorias*, p. 347; García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, p. 153.

and the earlier claims in behalf of the Indians of 1849. This unwillingness to make equivalent concessions led Vivó to suspend negotiations in the expectation of receiving new instructions, and to ask his government to cancel the Visino concession.⁴¹ The plan to export Maya captives was not abandoned, however; and the Mexican concessionaire, Santa Anna's former adjutant, spent an entire year in Yucatán attending to his "personal interests." His sorry business, briskly conducted at the cut-rate price of ten pesos per capita, continued to thrive until the spring of 1855, when the concession was revoked.⁴²

With the Indian and Spanish claims questions out of the way, an era of complete harmony might have been anticipated; but any such expectations were quickly destroyed by a third quarrel which arose over the Mexican navigation act of January 30, 1854. This law subjected vessels of nations not having commercial treaties with Mexico to double tonnage duties; and it increased import and export duties on products they might carry to or from Mexico. It guaranteed national treatment to ships of countries having such treaties, providing Mexican vessels were treated similarly. Merchant ships of a European colonial power proceeding to or from a colony were to be treated as Mexican if no differentials against Mexican commerce existed in the colonies, if discriminatory import duties were not collected on Mexican products in the mother country, and if the mother country enjoyed a commercial treaty with Mexico. In the absence of any of these requisites, the higher duties were to be collected. In all cases, the law subjected imports to the increased duties when they reached Mexico in vessels not registered with the nation of their origin.⁴³

⁴¹ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 352-354; García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, p. 154.

⁴² Menéndez, *Historia del infame y vergonzoso comercio de indios*, pp. 134-145; *Diario oficial del gobierno de la república mejicana*, March 8, 1855; Juan Suárez y Navarro, *Informe sobre las causas y carácter de los frecuentes cambios políticos ocurridos en el estado de Yucatán . . .* 1854, p. 19; A. L. de Santa Anna to Manuel María Jiménez, April 1, 1854, Correspondencia autografa del exmo. sr. general Santa-Anna y el coronel Manuel María Jiménez, García Collection, The University of Texas.

⁴³ Dublán and Lozano, *Legislación mexicana*, VII, 29-31.

Mercantilistic Spain naturally was affected very unfavorably by the new law. She did not have a separate commercial treaty with Mexico, and she maintained duties favoring her own ships in the Peninsula and in her colonies. Hence, the Marqués de la Ribera hastened to protest against the act, alleging that it violated the most-favored-nation clause of Article Five of the Spanish-Mexican treaty of December 28, 1836. Bonilla immediately leaped to the defense of Mexico's right to levy retaliatory duties, insisting that the essence of any most-favored-nation clause was to be found in the principle of reciprocity, and that Spain could not expect to be treated as a most-favored nation while she refused to reciprocate concessions. He then tried to demonstrate that Spain's circumstances were not identical with those of other nations, and that Ribera's complaint about discrimination was poorly founded. He admitted, however, that Spain would have a just claim if the Republic allowed goods from other colonies where differentials were maintained to enter at lower rates than those accorded Spanish colonial products.⁴⁴

Bonilla also issued a circular, on March 17, 1854, answering the complaints of other foreign diplomats. In it he declared that the law had neither derogated nor diminished the tenor of any treaty signed by the Republic; and he expressly conceded national treatment to the flags of France, Great Britain, Austria, the United States, Denmark, and certain other nations. He stated that the act was only applicable in its entirety to states not entitled to receive most-favored-nation treatment from Mexico.⁴⁵

The circular apparently satisfied most of the diplomatic corps, but it did not end the Spanish-Mexican controversy, for the increased duties were rigidly applied to Cuban commerce. In consequence, the Spanish foreign minister began to belabor Vivó with complaints about Mexico's alleged dis-

⁴⁴ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 277-278.

Although the new duties were applicable both to colonial and Peninsular Spanish commerce, Ribera confined his protests to the effect they would have on Cuban commerce, and Bonilla replied in the same vein. *Idem*, p. 283.

This would seem to indicate, as do later developments, that Mexico adopted the new law only to secure a reduction in the Cuban duties, and was anxious to avoid a major quarrel.

⁴⁵ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 278, 286-287.

crimination against Spanish commerce; and Bonilla and the Spanish minister to Mexico resumed their bickering. The quarrel continued for months without either side showing willingness to compromise, but, finally, Santa Anna yielded once more to Spain. On February 20, 1855, the maritime customs houses of the Atlantic coast were forbidden to collect the extra duties from Spanish vessels proceeding from Cuba, and they were informed that the entire navigation act would be suspended "for all purposes" until a "definitive resolution" might be taken.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, the suspension of the navigation act failed to restore perfect harmony, for the perennial quarrel over Spanish claims was again arousing bitterness by February, 1855. Factionalism had developed among the Spanish creditors during 1854 and, eventually, they began a bitter contest for control of the agency distributing the Mexican interest and amortization payments. D. Ramón Lozano y Armenta, who replaced Ribera as minister to Mexico, rashly supported a minority faction, thus giving an official cast to certain reckless charges and counter-charges of his associates and opponents. Ultimately the contestants committed a fatal error by accusing each other of having brought non-Spanish credits under the protection of the treaty.⁴⁷ A situation so pregnant with possibilities for advantage could not long escape the attention of Bonilla, who, on December 1, 1854, formally requested a revision of the claims treaty in order that fraudulent credits might be excluded. Lozano's reply to this request, although somewhat delayed,⁴⁸ was quite emphatic. He averred

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-295; García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, pp. 157-159.

Although Santa Anna never reached a "definitive resolution" on the navigation act, he issued a decree on March 12 that also affected Cuban interests unfavorably. It derogated a law of the State of Yucatán giving Spanish vessels the right to fish off that peninsula. *Colección de las leyes, decretos, y órdenes expedidas por S. A. S. el Presidente de la República, D. Antonio López de Santa-Anna. Desde 1o. de enero de 1855. Primera parte del Semanario Judicial*, VIII, 79 (Mexico, 1855).

⁴⁷ The treaty stated that only claims of Spanish origin and ownership should receive special status. Mexico interpreted this to mean continuous Spanish ownership, while Spain insisted that a period of possession by a non-Spaniard between the time of origin and presentation did not disqualify a claim. The admissibility of several of the claims turned on this issue.

⁴⁸ The delay was caused because he consulted his government before replying

that it could not even be considered, and that responsibility for any frauds rested entirely with the Mexican liquidating *junta*. He added that he was about to be relieved by D. Juan Antoine y Zayas, a former Spanish minister to Mexico, who would express any additional views of the Spanish government.⁴⁹

This reply seemed extremely callous to the Mexicans, who regarded the change of ministers as additional proof of Spain's lack of consideration. They seem to have objected to Antoine y Zayas because he had negotiated the convention of 1851, and had used what they felt was unfriendly language in his official communications. They likewise charged that he was too friendly with some of the creditors.⁵⁰ On February 27, 1855, Bonilla asked that a different person be named for the post, but the Spaniards refused to alter their choice, and Bonilla was compelled to refuse to receive the new minister. Then, in May, Mexico suspended interest payments on the special bonds, and the whole claims question was reopened. Antoine y Zayas was finally received on the eve of Santa Anna's flight from Mexico, but the claims issue remained unsettled.⁵¹

It seems clear then that Spanish claims, Yucatecan Indians, and differential customs duties continually disturbed Spanish-Mexican relations between 1853 and 1855. The claims question was not settled, even temporarily, until the Indian problem loomed large; and Santa Anna decreed the fateful navigation act on the same day that he granted the Visino

to Bonilla's note. His opponents criticized his conduct as weak and dilatory, charging that his failure to take immediate action was due to his friendship for Bonilla, and his partizanship for D. Lucas de la Tijera, whose claims, they asserted, were illegally brought under the treaty at Bonilla's suggestion. Carrera *et al.*, *España y Méjico*, pp. 47-48.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-47; Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, p. 88.

⁵⁰ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, p. 89.

Carrera and his associates felt that Bonilla's personal friendship for Lozano was principally responsible for his enmity toward Antoine y Zayas. *España y Méjico*, pp. 49-51.

José G. de Arboleya, a Spanish publicist, believed that Antoine y Zayas was unpopular in Mexico simply because he was known to be a strong anti-revisionist. García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, p. 159.

⁵¹ Lafragua, *Memorándum de los negocios*, pp. 90-91; Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 258-272; García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, p. 159; Carrera *et al.*, *España y Méjico*, p. 51.

concession. Moreover, resentment reached a new high with the revival of the claims dispute in December, 1854, and the quarrel over the appointment of Antoine y Zayas. These controversies appear to explain, in part, why Spain refused to ally herself with Mexico. At any rate, Santa Anna seems to have regarded the claims and Indian disputes as impediments to Vivó's negotiations. He signed the claims treaty when his fear of American aggression was greatest;⁵² and he abandoned the Indians of 1849 while the Mesilla Treaty was having a bad time in the United States Senate.⁵³ Vivó also felt that the disputes were injuring his chances to secure an alliance. He refrained, on his own initiative, from entering damage claims for the contracted Indians;⁵⁴ and he once told Bonilla that the Spanish claims controversy was partly responsible for his failure to proceed more rapidly.⁵⁵ It is equally clear that the navigation law irked the Spaniards considerably. They felt that it was based upon a similar American navigation act, and their irritation was increased by the fact that Santa Anna's law established higher duties than did the earlier measure. In some circles the act was even regarded as a poorly disguised device to exile the Spanish merchant flag from Mexican waters, although it was conceded that this policy may have been forced upon Mexico by the United States.⁵⁶

From the evidence now presented, it seems reasonable to assert that Santa Anna not only failed to secure Spain's assistance, but that he did not succeed in preserving her sympathy for Mexico. As a matter of fact, the disputes of his administration cast some light upon Spain's reasons for rejecting Vivó's successor, and participating in the ill-odored joint intervention of 1862. But Santa Anna's attempts to win European support were harmful as well as unsuccessful, because they added to his unpopularity in the United States and in Mexico. As early as May, 1853, certain American publica-

⁵² See p. 559: A. L. de Santa Anna to Antonio Corona, December 17, 1853, *Crímenes de los generales*, I.

⁵³ James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations* (New York, 1932), pp. 225-226; J. Fred Rippey, *The United States and Mexico* (New York, 1931 ed.), pp. 69-75.

⁵⁴ See p. 567.

⁵⁵ Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 81-82, 321-326.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 291; García de Arboleya, *España y Méjico*, p. 154.

tions began to print stories about "whispered English interference," a projected French alliance, and the possibility that Santa Anna might turn Mexico over to the Spaniards.⁵⁷ Subsequently, the dictator was represented as seeking a Spanish alliance or protectorate;⁵⁸ and irate Minister James Gadsden informed Bonilla "that European interference would only hasten the inevitable American absorption of a large part of northern Mexico, including Lower California."⁵⁹ Throughout 1854 and 1855, Gadsden's correspondence was crammed with "rumors of projected or impending interventions";⁶⁰ and he continually urged support for the Mexican liberals in order that the danger of European intervention might be reduced. His partizanship for the Ayutla revolutionists became so violent, in fact, that he was accused of supporting them with "more eagerness than propriety."⁶¹

Equally unfortunate were the effects of Santa Anna's Spanish policy on his domestic position. The Mexicans, fearful of attempts at reconquest, naturally eyed their former metropolis with suspicion for many years after their War for Independence. In consequence, the vague and distorted rumors of the plan to secure a defensive alliance with Spain brought unfavorable reactions among Mexicans of all classes. Benito Gómez Farías expressed the attitude of the liberal creole when he predicted that the dictator's attempt to "seek a prop in the government of Madrid" would increase his difficulties, because of the general antipathy with which such an alliance would be regarded in Mexico.⁶² His prophecy was amply fulfilled by the widespread participation of men of all classes in the revolution of Ayutla, one cause of which was the

⁵⁷ *The United States Review*, May, 1853; *Weekly Picayune*, May 31, 1853.

⁵⁸ *Weekly Picayune*, June 20, 1853; August 1, 1853; August 15, 1853; September 5, 1853; also, Vivó, *Memorias*, pp. 9-13, 18-19.

It seems likely that the rumors of a Spanish protectorate "grew and saw the light for the first time in the North American union," as Vivó alleges in the work just cited. Nevertheless, Mexico's efforts to secure alliances, together with Santa Anna's participation in a monarchist plot, gave the rumors the aspect of veracity.

⁵⁹ Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*, p. 222.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-235.

⁶¹ Rippey, *The United States and Mexico* (1928 ed.), pp. 202-203.

⁶² Benito Gómez Farías to Valentín Gómez Farías, July 30, 1853. Gómez Farías Papers.

general hostility to the intrigues with Spain.⁶³ In fact, Juan Álvarez charged, in his proclamation of belligerency, that Santa Anna was bartering away Mexico's independence.⁶⁴

The dictator's many concessions to the Spaniards were equally unpopular. The claims treaty was odious to all who realized how disadvantageous it was to Mexico;⁶⁵ and the commerce in Maya Indians, legalized by the Visino concession, disgusted most Mexicans. One liberal citizen even compared Santa Anna's conduct to that of the barbarous "kings of the Congo" who also bartered away their subjects;⁶⁶ and Juan A. Mateos recalled with shame that the commander of an English corvette had accused the Mexican government of carrying on a traffic in slaves.⁶⁷

Enough evidence has been presented to support a few generalizations. It is clear that Santa Anna's efforts to secure foreign help for Mexico failed completely, irritated the United States, and discredited him at home. There is no reason to suppose that he formulated this policy carelessly, but the quality of his judgment certainly must be questioned. Some of his failures, it is true, were unpredictable, but his treatment of the claims question was so inept, and his conduct in the matter of the Yucatecan Indians so heartless, that it is difficult to condone even his undeserved failures. Hence, the

⁶³ Draft of a letter of Valentín Gómez Farías to Benito Gómez Farías, May 2, 1853, and Benito Gómez Farías to Valentín Gómez Farías, December 1, 1853, Gómez Farías Papers; *El archivo mexicano. Colección de leyes, decretos, circulares, y otros documentos*, I, 5-9; Emanuel Domenech, *Histoire du Mexique* (3 vols., Paris, 1868), I, 270.

⁶⁴ *El archivo mexicano. Colección de leyes, decretos, circulares, y otros documentos*, I, 3-5.

⁶⁵ Guillermo Prieto, *Circular del ministro de hacienda, Guillermo Prieto, á los gobernadores de los estados* (Mexico, 1855), p. 6; Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, *Memoria presentada al exmo. sr. presidente de la república por el C. Miguel Lerdo de Tejada dando cuenta de la marcha que han seguido los negocios de la hacienda pública, en el tiempo que tuvo á su cargo la secretaría de este ramo* (Mexico, 1857), pp. 645-647; Manuel Payno y Flores, *México y sus cuestiones financieras con la Inglaterra, la España, y la Francia* (Mexico, 1862), pp. 143-150.

The total amount of Spanish credits entitled to preferential treatment increased more than a hundred per cent under the treaty of 1853.

⁶⁶ Miguel Cruz-Aedo, *Discurso pronunciado en el salón principal del Instituto de Estado, el 17 de setiembre de 1855, aniversario de las víctimas de la patria* (Guadalajara, 1855), p. 16.

⁶⁷ Menéndez, *Historia del infame y vergonzoso comercio de indios*, pp. 136-138.

verdict seems inescapable that Mexico suffered heavily from his conduct of relations with Spain, and that subsequent Spanish hostility toward Mexico developed in a large part from events of the years 1853-1855.

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CHURCH AND STATE IN COLOMBIA AS OBSERVED BY AMERICAN DIPLOMATS,¹ 1834-1906

I

In the autumn of 1509, more than three hundred years before the birth of Colombian independence, a group of expeditionists under the leadership of Alonso de Ojeda, who had been commissioned by his Catholic Majesty, King Ferdinand of Spain, landed at Cartagena together with several friars and advanced to be greeted by a receiving line of aborigines. As a prelude to the reception Ojeda ordered that a proclamation, which he carried and which had been prepared in Spain, be read to the Indians. This document provided that he

. . . should announce to the natives the principal articles of the Christian faith; inform them especially of the supreme jurisdiction of the pope over all the kingdoms of the earth, to the end that he might be obeyed; notify them of the concession that Alexander VI had made of these regions to the king of Spain; and require them to embrace the Catholic religion and submit to the Spanish monarch. Finally, if they refused to accept these terms, they were to be threatened as follows:²

I will employ my power against you, and make war upon you in all the ways and places that I am able to, and will subject you to the yoke and obedience of the Church and of his Majesty, and will take your women and children and make them slaves, and as such sell them and dispose of them as his Majesty may order; and I will seize your property and do you all the damage and evil that I can, as vassals who do not obey or wish to receive their lord and who resist and oppose him.³

¹ This study is an attempt to discover the impressions of American diplomatic representatives at Bogotá of the Church-State relationship in Colombia, and for that reason is based almost wholly upon their despatches to the Department of State. Nevertheless other closely related sources were examined. Despatches, instructions, appointment papers, and other Department of State records cited are now in the custody of The National Archives.

² Jesús María Henao and Gerardo Arrubla, *History of Colombia*, trans. and edit. by J. Fred Rippy (Chapel Hill, 1938), p. 9.

³ Quoted, *ibid.*, p. 9.

II

No effort is made here to offer an appraisal of the complexity of good and evil which resulted from the activities of the Church in its joint effort at colonization and soul-saving at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Early in the nineteenth century, however, shortly after the United States established diplomatic relations with the independent nation then called New Granada, an account of the Church-State relationship as delineated by one of our representatives indicates that the people still had no liberty of conscience in regard to religion, despite the passage of three hundred years. This diplomat, who chose sarcastic phraseology to inform his government of the coercive domination of the Church over a supposedly free people, was Robert B. McAfee,⁴ a protestant from Kentucky. Expressing the view that the business of the priests "... is not to regulate the affairs of *this world*, but to prepare *souls* for the next," he wrote the Department of State, "A few weeks since I sent you a copy of the *Popes love letter* to President Santander. This was followed by the most assiduous *courtship* between the President & the Priests. . . ."⁵

* During McAfee's tenure at Bogotá an American named John Steuart spent several months in Colombia on business. At the same time Charles Biddle of the Philadelphia banking family was there negotiating with the Colombian government regarding the construction of an Isthmian canal. Despite the possibility that Steuart's opinion of the American minister may have been entirely incorrect, it is presented here as an interesting commentary. Biddle and his secretary were guests at the house of the minister who promised to forward the canal negotiations in every way possible. But in Steuart's opinion "... it would have been better for the cause of Mr. Biddle had the minister attempted nothing in the matter. For the general, although an honest and upright man, with manners both pleasing and conciliatory, knows little or nothing of the duties connected with a diplomatic agent, or of business generally. He has now resided four years in the country, and is as yet acquainted with scarcely fifty words of the language, nor could he turn one single point in the dark and faithless character of this government to his own advantage. Mistaking entirely the character of the people, their agents, by dint of smooth promises and a little well-timed flattery, have succeeded in setting aside almost every just claim which the United States have against the republic, or treaties desirable to have, and then turn round and openly laugh at the simplicity of the 'old Kentucky farmer,' as they are pleased to term him." J. Steuart, *Bogota in 1836-7* (New York, 1838), p. 248.

⁴ Robert B. McAfee to Louis McLane, May 2, 1834, Diplomatic Despatches, Colombia. McAfee underscored portions of his despatches apparently to indicate emphasis. Hereafter the single word "Despatches" will be used to cite this series.

Part of what McAfee alluded to as "courtship" comprised a number of visits by the President to the Cathedral during Easter week.

Early in 1834 McAfee learned of a change of ministry in Spain, and that the Church had modified its surveillance over the people of Venezuela and Mexico. He reported that the latter news was joyfully acclaimed by liberals in Colombia and that *El Cachaco* published an article recommending the same course for New Granada.⁶ But, he continued, "The Priests immediately *pretended* to be greatly alarmed *for the church* and an address of the most inflammatory character was published in which *toleration to any other religion was bitterly denounced, as well as all foreigners*, as disturbers of the peace of the country."

Events of the day lent credence to reports that a revolution was in the offing, and in the same despatch McAfee expressed the conviction that

This administration may escape the storm, but it will certainly burst on the next before the people can throw off an *incubus* which cramps all their energies, as the Catholic Priests *ever have, and ever will* oppose all liberal measures (with a few worthy exceptions here) or reciprocal commerce with other nations. Their doctrines are *Prohibition* and non-intercourse, and it is *this influence* which *embarrasses this Government*, as one third of the senate and one fourth of the house of representatives are Priests.⁷

But despite the deep forebodings of the hour, the minister perceived a faint ray of hope. He reported that on the preceding Sunday the Congress had elected (nominated) an archbishop and several bishops. The newly elected archbishop was Vice-President Mosquera's brother Manuel José Mosquera.⁸ To McAfee's mind, these newly elected churchmen were mostly liberals and men of good moral character. He felt that

⁶ President Santander suppressed this radical periodical, because it was fighting for liberty of cults and the elimination of all religious orders. J. Lloyd Mechem, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934), p. 145.

⁷ McAfee to McLane, May 2, 1834, Despatches.

⁸ "There are four Brothers one is vice President, one a General & member of congress, another is Governor of Popayan & the last now Arch Bishop, & every other strong family has a priest—no wonder they control the country. . . ." *Ibid.*, footnote to despatch.

by the combination of their leadership and the diffusion of education, which was so zealously promoted by the Vice-President, the Republic would be secured and liberal principles established.

But within a fortnight he apprised his government that, "The *Priests* still complain, threaten and intrigue. . . ." ⁹ Santander, nevertheless, had made a bold move. He had approved two laws: One exempting all new plantations of cocoa, coffee, vanilla, and cotton from payment of tithes; and another granting vacant lands for new villages, which were to have a like exemption for twenty years. McAfee believed these laws would have an important influence in provoking other exemptions, ". . . which will finally release these people from the influence of those who now oppress them and riot on the fruits of their labor." ¹⁰ It must have pleased him profoundly to prophesy that tithes would be completely abolished within twenty years. For the zeal with which the Church fought to secure laws favorable to its domination of civil authority was equally matched by the ardor with which this liberty-loving statesman from the frontier of the world's virile democracy evangelized for the separation of Church and State. He wrote a long dissertation in defense of religious liberty to the Minister for Foreign Affairs who ". . . was much pleased with the candid view I had taken of this subject, and altho we may not get all we *now* ask, yet the light of heaven is breaking all round this Priest ridden land." ¹¹ The chief burden of his argument was freedom of worship, not only for American citizens in Colombia, but also for Colombians. The appeal contained a review of the precepts upon which freedom of worship in the United States was based; the contention that France suffered economically from the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, because the Huguenots upon leaving the country took their industries with them, particularly their silk manufacturing, and British competition with France followed; the argument that prohibition of religious freedom would deter immigration of Protestant believers; and finally the convic-

⁹ McAfee to McLane, May 14, 1834, Despatches.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

tion that God “. . . has ever allowed to his creatures *free will* and never has or will require an *unwilling worship*.”¹²

Needless to say, McAfee's ambition to bring freedom of religion to Colombia failed. He could exercise his free will in the attempt, but it was apparently foreordained that he should not succeed.¹³

From 1830 to 1849, the large landholders, the Church, and the military held sway over the destinies of the people. That the authority of the Church increased during this era is indicated by the fact that Colombia's constitution of 1843 was even more conservative than the one of 1832.¹⁴

James Semple, McAfee's successor, conducted no crusade for freedom of religion, but in 1840, when a group of insurrectionists was marching on Bogotá, he reported that

. . . the Arch-Bishop issued a proclamation calling on all the faithful, from the highest to the lowest, to turn out and defend the city of the Holy faith (Santa fe [de Bogotá]). A solemn procession was formed, and an oration delivered by one of the most eloquent of the clergy, closing with a prayer to the virgin Mary to protect the Holy City. This operation had a great effect, many men of all classes went to the barracks and took arms. Others were compelled to do so, until a considerable force was collected.¹⁵

With the triumph of the Liberal Party in 1849, and the election of José Hilario López as president, there ensued a turbulent period of strife between the Church and the civil government for three decades. One of the first acts of López was the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Thomas M. Foote, who became chargé d'affaires in 1849, partially foresaw the likelihood of revolution when the proposal to expel the Jesuits was presented to President López. He referred to the members of the order as highly accomplished men and stated that as a society, they possessed large

¹² Enclosure with, McAfee to McLane, May 24, 1834, Despatches.

¹³ The lack of religious freedom in Colombia was observed by Steuart, who wrote: "The boasted republic of New-Granada concedes nothing more to Protestant residents or citizens than freedom from open persecution. They cannot erect any chapels, but are allowed to meet for purposes of devotion in their own houses." Steuart, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

¹⁴ Mecham, *op. cit.*, pp. 147-148.

¹⁵ James Semple to John Forsyth, November 21, 1840, Despatches.

means. They had numerous and influential friends and, "In fact the great body of the Conservative, or opposition, party will stand by the Jesuits, and religious fanaticism will also be aroused in their support."¹⁶

When reporting upon conditions in Colombia in 1851, after his arrival as chargé d'affaires for the United States, Yelverton P. King wrote Secretary of State Daniel Webster:

Various causes are assigned for the present revolution and prominent among them is the expulsion of the Jesuits from this Republic, which you are aware took place about fourteen months ago.

They are an intelligent body and are I learn violently opposed to the present administration. On their expulsion nearly all of them repaired to Ecuador, where it is believed they have been engaged in fomenting the present difficulties.¹⁷

Afterward there was a rapid succession of legislative acts which annulled payment of tithes to the Church and set fixed salaries for the clergy, gave town councils the right to nominate parish curates, abolished separate ecclesiastical courts, accorded the Supreme Court jurisdiction over cases concerning prelates criminally implicated or accused of delinquency in the exercise of their ecclesiastical functions, and deprived the Church of the right to educate its own priests. In 1852, when the civil authorities inquired of the prelates if they did not think the separation of Church and State advisable they of course replied in the negative, the Archbishop contending that the *union of spiritual and temporal powers was the natural state*. Nevertheless the act of separation was promulgated the following year.¹⁸

But these are only a few of the encroachments which the impractical and short-sighted radicals made upon the Church's control, so jealously guarded by the prelates. If Colombia were to develop a truly democratic system of government, it was obvious that reforms were essential; but a less passionate, a saner, and a more cautious approach would have been more fruitful and enduring. That the Church had thus far greatly influenced the State cannot be denied, and as the

¹⁶ Thomas M. Foote to John M. Clayton, February 2, 1850, Despatches.

¹⁷ Yelverton P. King to Daniel Webster, August 30, 1851, Despatches.

¹⁸ Mecham, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149. Italics mine.

Church was not a democratic institution, the State it dominated could not be one. The reformers, however, acted too rapidly and too indiscreetly. In their attempt to give Colombians the liberty of conscience for which McAfee had pleaded, they overlooked the fact that the people had drunk little of this new wine. While the political theorists were evolving ways by which dogmatic intolerance might be made more bearable, the priests were moving quietly among their flocks in the market places and the mountain hamlets, admonishing them to be constant in their duties toward the Church, to attend mass, to observe fast days, and to ignore the heretical politicians who talked of freedom of religion.

Early in this era of attempted State ascendancy King saw the seriousness of the impending crisis. He wrote, relative to the new legislation restricting church privileges, that

This people have always been taught to believe that all such rights are beyond the sacrilegious touch of human power. I learn from a source that commands my belief, that "His Holiness" has threatened in the event that these laws are not modified or repealed to close the cathedrals, churches and convents, in the Republic, the consequences of which would inevitably lead to a bloody Civil War.¹⁹

The period between 1850 and 1860, though one of perpetual disturbance and uncertainty in Colombia, was but the harbinger of a cataclysm yet to come. An allegation that the American Minister, George W. Jones, was implicated in a Bible-burning episode is an indicative commentary on the era.²⁰ A British newspaper at Panama, the *Star and Herald*,

¹⁹ King to Webster, March 9, 1852, Despatches.

²⁰ Jones was educated in Kentucky, but was one of the first two Senators from Iowa. He disliked abolitionists and supported Henry Clay. This action contributed to his defeat in 1859. Although long sympathetic toward the Catholic church he never affiliated with it until after his appointment as minister. On his way to Bogotá he stopped in New York to be baptized by Archbishop Hughes. When he arrived in Colombia he had letters of introduction from the Archbishops of New York and Baltimore and the Bishop of Buffalo, addressed to the Archbishop of Bogotá. M. M. Hoffmann, "The Catholic Sponsors of Iowa," No. 1 of *Collections* issued by the Iowa Catholic Historical Society.

While on leave in 1861, Jones hopefully planned for his reappointment. One result of his efforts was a letter to Secretary of State William H. Seward, March 11, 1861, from the Bishop of Dubuque, in which the prelate said, "During his recent visit to this city he [Jones] requested me, at my own suggestion, to solicit

carried a story on February 8, 1860, in which Jones was accused of having witnessed the burning of some Bibles. They had been sold or distributed by the London Bible Society, but as certain churchmen feared if the people read them Church dogma might be undermined, they built a bonfire on the Bogotá commons and fed these subversive copies of Holy Writ to the flames. There seems to have been no doubt of the Bibles having been burned, but Jones denied that he witnessed the act or had any prior knowledge of it. The *Star and Herald* claimed that Phillip Griffith, the British chargé d'affaires, addressed a protest to the Colombian government on behalf of Great Britain. But Griffith wrote Jones that he did not make a protest because the Bibles were burned by a few private persons and the government had no part in the affair.²¹

In defense of himself, Jones wrote the Department of State:

I neither knew anything of the wickedly foolish act or the intention to commit it & condemned the act in very strong terms to the Pope's Internuncio, three days after it occurred when he called upon me. Since my residence here I attended religious service more frequently at the 'Missionary of the *Presbyterian* Church' than I have at the Catholic churches. And I have refused to subscribe for the erection of another Catholic church here, believing that thirty three large ones is enough for a population of forty thousand & have subscribed fifty dollars to build a protestant church here.²²

Many papers in the United States printed accounts of the accusation against Jones, but Secretary of State Cass cleared him of any official condemnation by informing him that his government gave no credit to reports that he had witnessed or participated in the burning.²³

Previously Jones had sent the Department a letter ad-

your interest in his behalf. . . ." Appointment Papers. (See *Guide to the Material in The National Archives*, Washington, 1940, p. 42.) The Appointment Papers were examined for biographical material on each of the ministers whose despatches were used, but in the main they were found to contain only routine recommendations.

²¹ Enclosure with, George W. Jones to Lewis Cass, April 16, 1860, Despatches.

²² Jones to Cass, March 26, 1860, Despatches.

²³ Cass to Jones, May 4, 1860, Diplomatic Instructions, Colombia.

dressed to himself from the Apostolic Delegate to Colombia, in which the representative of the Holy See wrote:

I am quite astonished that the Press of the U. States has allowed itself to be so quickly surprized with calumnious reports, void of all foundation, & against a person of your position, & merit. Calumny, which in the country where we both are at present, is the habitual arm used by its political parties. Anyone at all acquainted with the laws of New Granada, knows perfectly well, that no Foreign Minister, not even the Government of the Confederation itself, can in any form, or under any pretext interfere in the affairs of the Church, or with religious matters. If on the night of the 8th Dec. 1859, the ecclesiastical authorities, or the Faithful of the Capital, pleased to reduce to ashes obscene works, impious pamphlets, & publications condemned by the Church, no one had the right to oppose it, or to protest against it. No one, as it took place, dreamt of interference. You were entirely ignorant of the destruction of such works until afterwards. You neither were an eyewitness, nor did you sanction, or applaud it, & even so, you could not prevent it, as any interference on your part would have been incompatible with your mission.²⁴

The strife between the Liberals and Conservatives even invaded the Pope's official family in Colombia. When sending one of his despatches to the Department by the Reverend Juan Giovanni Battista C. Valeri, Jones explained:

The Revd. Mr. Valeri has been, until within the last day or two, Secretary to the Pope's Internuncio. He has resigned, I believe, his secretaryship because of a serious quarrel or dissention between the Internuncio and himself—the former having expressed his dissatisfaction at the Secretary because he chose to visit the families of General Herran & other Liberals and to entertain opinions favorable to the cause of the Liberals which the Internuncio as strongly opposes.²⁵

On July 18, 1861, Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, having been victorious against the forces of the established government under President Mariano Ospina, returned to Bogotá as head of the provisional government. One of his first acts was to issue a decree, July 26, 1861, expelling the Jesuits,²⁶

²⁴ Enclosure with, Jones to Cass, April 16, 1860, Despatches.

²⁵ Jones to the Secretary of State, March 16, 1861, Despatches.

²⁶ Members of this order had been previously expelled from Colombia in 1850, and were required to remain out of the country because of provisions in the

... who it is confidently asserted, exercised great influence with Ex-Prest. Ospina, to induce him to make the revolution; lent him money to carry on the Civil War & refused to grant absolution to Catholics who would not cooperate with the conservative party in the War. Monseigneur—the Internuncio was expelled for similar reasons & because of the abuse which he heaped upon Mrs. General Herran, a lady of great intelligence & of the purest character, but whose sin with the Internuncio & the Conservative party was that she adhered to the cause of her father [Mosquera] through good & through evil report.²⁷

Shortly before his departure from Bogotá, Jones received this invitation:

Several Ladies of this Capital have made arrangements for celebrating funeral honors to the citizens who have perished in the Fields of battle in defense of their Country, Religion, Honor and Property; and for presenting at the same time a proof of their profound admiration and gratitude as regards these victims who, in offering their lives as a sacrifice, have presented so noble an example of valor and civic virtue.

For this reason it is hoped that the goodness and condescendence of the Hon. Mr. W. Jones will induce him to be present tomorrow morning, the 19th Inst., at 10 o'clock at the Church of St. Frances, the place appointed for the ceremony.²⁸

During the years that Mosquera was in power the Church suffered most severely, although it had regained some of its lost prestige and authority during the late 1850's. Mosquera was unreasonable and far from a model of moral rectitude. But as we shall observe more clearly later on there were unpardonable practices of immorality among certain elements of the priesthood. Never, in fact, during this bitter struggle between the opposing forces of civil and religious authority to render "unto Cesar the things which be Cesar's, and unto God the things which be God's" was there a clearly cut issue between good and evil. And because of the plague on the houses

Constitution of 1853. As a new Constitution, promulgated in 1858, contained no prohibition to their residence, however, President Ospina had permitted their return. Mecham, *op. cit.*, pp. 148, 152.

²⁷ Jones to William H. Seward, August 3, 1861, Despatches.

²⁸ Enclosure with, *ibid.* This document bears the following endorsement: "Went to Church & prayed for the dead of the Liberal as well as the Conservative party tho' it was intended only for the *Conservatives*."

of both of the opposing forces there could be little hope for happiness and security for the average Colombian.²⁹ This seems to have been the conviction of Allan A. Burton, a native of Kentucky and Jones' successor at Bogotá. After being in Colombia about a year, he reported to the Department of State:

The war has virtually become one of Religion;—the Liberals against the church, and the most intense fanaticism against anything that may be proposed by them. The Conservative or Church party, have the wealth and the numbers; while the Liberals or Mosqueristas seem to have the resolution and the energy. The two great obstacles to the success of the Church party have been, and still are the reluctance of the wealthy to furnish means, and the great disinclination of the better classes to go into the army.

It is not likely in the present state of society, that any considerable portion of the people, can be governed except by the influence of the church; and should that party be overcome in the struggle, there is not in my opinion, unity and disinterestedness enough in the other, to keep them in subjection. The leaders in both parties are intelligent and crafty, and it is said, many of them are unscrupulous. But the masses, of whom a majority are devoted to the church and priests, are degradedly ignorant and superstitious. Their reform and elevation by the sword, is simply impossible, and the attempt absurd. It is indeed, very questionable, whether that be the real object of any considerable number of either party.

There is a growing dissatisfaction with Gen. Mosquera, among his adherents; and if he is not overthrown by his opponents, it is not impossible, that the party of which he is head, will so disagree as to dissolve. There is evidently, a want of confidence in the integrity of his purposes. Indeed, the most melancholy feature of the national character, is a lack of public virtue and its appreciation.³⁰

²⁹ Twenty-five years earlier Steuart had been impressed by the lack of devotion manifested by worshippers in Bogotá. Of this observation he wrote: "Although the services of religion are so much attended by the women, who are very regular in their observance of mass and saints' days, yet the effect upon their lives is not very apparent, and the dread of the confessional alone binds them to an endless routine of hollow forms totally apart from the true spirit of religion, which should refine the mind and heart, and improve us in the practice of virtue. Most of the educated males are open scoffers and atheists at heart, passing jokes upon the mummeries of the priests without taking any pains to conceal it." Steuart, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

³⁰ Allan A. Burton to Seward, July 21, 1862, Despatches.

On the last day of 1862 Burton wrote his government that the political future of Colombia was very uncertain. The Liberals were fighting one another. Mosquera was attacking former President López, one of the most influential men in the country, allegedly for no other reason than personal hostility. He had also disfranchised the priests. Burton felt that if Mosquera withstood the shock that these measures would surely provoke, his chances for a military dictatorship for life, provided he desired it, would be greatly increased. Finally, the minister stated: "And much as such an event is to be deplored by the friends of elective government, it would not, perhaps, be the greatest of evils that threaten this people or that could befall [befall] them in their present state."³¹

Burton observed the struggle closely. His efforts to keep his government informed are evidenced not only by his own despatches, but also by voluminous enclosures which he forwarded to the Department of State. One such covering despatch, which he sent to Secretary of State Seward, reads as follows:

When I commenced preparing the accompanying papers for the Department, it appeared almost certain that the controversies to which they relate would soon involve this unfortunate country in another Civil War. That misfortune has been delayed for the time by President Mosquera's relaxing his useless severities against the Church and Clergy. The latter, it is true, are, as a class, degraded and vicious, but they are more acceptable to this society generally than would be better men. The course taken by President Mosquera seems to have been dictated by spite and vindictiveness rather than a desire to do good. He was once the idol and worshipper of the very men, or class of men he now pursues, until he saw more inviting fields of ambition among his ancient adversaries. They would doubtless need reform were society prepared for it, and rigid measures in that case might be necessary; but the present contest between the military and ecclesiastic powers only brings most forcibly to mind the homely saying of the pot calling the kettle black.

To one who may have any desire to judge of the state of civilization in Colombia by the state of religious sentiment and practice among its inhabitants, these papers may not be without interest.³²

³¹ Burton to Seward, December 31, 1862, Despatches.

³² Burton to Seward, December 20, 1866, Despatches. There are more than

In those days of civil and religious unrest there was in Colombia one representative of the Church, who, though professing his own fidelity to her cause, felt constrained to make shockingly frank admissions of the unrighteousness of certain of his brethren. This priest was Father Vicente F. Bernal, who in addition to holding other offices, was Chaplain of the Hermitage of Santa María de la Cruz de Monserrate, near Bogotá, a position which he had held for twenty-eight years. He entered the Church forty-five years before the date of his writing, at which time he was seventy years of age.

In November of 1862 Father Bernal wrote to the Pope informing him of events which had taken place in the Granadian Church since July 18, 1861. Although he placed responsibility on Mosquera for having inspired most of the Church's miseries, his bold admissions of the sordid corruption within the institution provoke one to wonder if Mosquera was not reasonably justified in some of the actions he brought against it. Of Mosquera and his followers Father Bernal recorded:

. . . they declare that the Roman Pontiff is not to be obeyed, for that he is a foreign sovereign without power or jurisdiction among this people. To carry out disobedience to the Vicar of Jesus Christ, they have demoralized and perverted good habits; they are endeavoring to introduce protestantism; they sell with profusion prohibited bibles; hatred against the priests is without bounds, some having been barbarously assassinated; there is no liberty of speech, nor of writing a single word.³³

The Pope's informer regretted most, however, that parts of the secular and regular clergy had submitted to the impious Mosquera and yielded to his blasphemous decrees which trampled under foot the dogma, rights, and prerogatives of the Church. He censured some ecclesiastics for voluntarily transferring Church property to the custody of the State. Churchmen were rare, he wrote, who upon being promoted to benefices did not turn over to the State revenues of the Church and consent to the usurpation of its property. Negotiable papers

two hundred pages of manuscript enclosures with this despatch. They are translations of correspondence between civil and ecclesiastical leaders, including President Mosquera and the Archbishop of Bogotá, on controversial issues of the day.

³³ Enclosure with, Burton to Seward, December 20, 1866, Despatches.

on Church property were bought and sold, the prelate lamented, by some who called themselves Catholics.

But Oh! most Holy Father! believe me, for I speak in the presence of God! The religious communities of men are in a state of relaxation and immorality without limits; they are very rare who have not submitted to the government of the tyrant Mosquera. . . . This relaxation, corruption of habits and immorality is not new; it has existed for many years which the undersigned well knows by living among them [religious communities], and day by day becomes more palpable the scandal produced by their vices among a christian people. I state Most Holy Father, what I see, what daily experience teaches me and what a multitude of persons tell of the publicity of these grave excesses. The vestries, the halls, the corridors of the churches, the public squares and streets, the convents and cloisters cry aloud for a complete reform in order to put an end to the impetuous torrent of corruption and vicious habits and practices. The constitutions and regulations of their orders absolutely forgotten, they have acquired lands, houses, farms, luxurious furniture and other chattels; they take off the habit or dress of their order when they go out into the country, and even in the city itself; they attend balls and dances; almost all have their concubines; those who take the religious habit are their servants and their sons!!! without education[,] without morals, without knowledge, the greater number without fear of God. Women disguised as men enter their cells and pass the night with them. We know of this horrible crime through the confessions of the women. It is in this epoch of weeping, of bitterness, of mourning and lamentation, that we have learned of the existence of the relaxation I have mentioned. Some of these religious professed or devotees make fun of the censures, saying that they do not fear cloven-footed excommunications!!!—Others, that to obey and swear to the decrees of Mosquera is not even a venial sin.⁸⁴

All prelates and members of the Church, however, had not been faithless. The Father commended some for their steadfastness and fidelity. He referred to the dismissal of Juan Valeri, secretary to the Internuncio, previously mentioned. His conduct was scandalous, thought the priest, and he had returned to the country already and was engaged in carrying out the iniquitous measures of Mosquera. The professions of

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

the liberal sect were, "atheism, protestantism, and a cumulation of heresies."³⁵ Religion and the Church had suffered much from adhesion to liberalism. Though there was great relaxation among the secular ecclesiastics of the archdiocese, it was not to be compared with that among the regulars. Curates and simple presbyters were met with whose lives were virtuous, who possessed a respectable knowledge of theology and the canons.³⁶

On October 19, 1866, President Mosquera issued a proclamation. In it he endeavored to explain some of the actions taken against the clergy, who "believing themselves protected in the guaranties of the constitution, have pretended that the liberty of worship was established in order that it should usurp the public power. . . ." He related that shortly after he had taken office in May, the Archbishop of Bogotá and other members of the clergy had called upon him and he expressed to them his ideas regarding the faith which the majority of Colombians professed. Very soon thereafter Bishop Vicente Arbeláez visited Mosquera to inform him that two Presbyters, Fathers Tejada and Romero, had been elected bishops and requested him to grant the *pase* to their bulls. This the President refused to do because of what he referred to as their previous scandalous conduct.³⁷

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Although 30 years had elapsed since the publication of Steuart's book, he and Father Bernal entertained similar convictions regarding immorality among the priesthood. Steuart's version is: "Those of the clergy of Bogotá who choose live in open adultery; at times with one woman only, when the children are brought up and openly acknowledged by them. True, they take a house, furnish it, and in every possible way provide for the poor ignorant creatures as if they were truly their lawful wives, which so far palliates, if this, indeed, can be called palliation, such unchristian, as well as uncatholic-like conduct. Their mates are generally chosen from among the better portion of the lower orders, although not unfrequently they are of a higher grade.

The monks, on the other hand, being obliged to live within their convents, generally, choose their female domestics with the greatest possible regard to personal appearance, and thus the end is the same. The civil arm is the only check upon the grossness and presumption of the indolent hive; and government is certainly commendable for the promptitude and tact with which they have, within a few years, clipped the wings of these gallinazas (a Bogotá nickname for friars, meaning turkey-buzzards)." Steuart, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

³⁷ Enclosure with, Burton to Seward, December 20, 1866, Despatches.

Some of the acts of churchmen enumerated by Mosquera as being contrary to the civil law were: attempts of the superiors of a curate to impose upon him illegal contributions; refusal of the Archbishop to present an inventory of vessels and jewels in the churches; a manifestation of partiality toward certain friars and nuns on the Church's part, in the administration of the decree regarding mortmain property; refusal of priests to give the sacraments to citizens who had supported the civil administration of Mosquera; the audacious action of certain prelates who, in the name of peace and charity and according to the commandments and examples of Jesus Christ, had erected themselves into a power superior to the sovereignty of Colombia; the excommunication of many who had supported the government; and finally, "The sacraments are denied to Catholics when dying, unless they deliver up to the clergy the mortmain property which they may have purchased. . . ." ⁸⁸ Because of this opposition, he decreed that the laws thus threatened "shall be faithfully executed," that "no Colombian has a right to the guaranties of the Constitution from the moment he shall deny obedience to that constitution," and under this constitution (1863), Mosquera pledged "even his life" in defense of national independence. ⁸⁹

Mosquera had been in London in January, 1866. During his visit Bishop Manning called upon him at the request of the Pope. Mosquera submitted a memorandum to the Bishop outlining his views concerning the activities of the Church in Colombia, and the conclusions which that statement embodied do not appear to be at all incorrect.

The discipline of the Spanish church that existed in the American colonies, and the exercise of ecclesiastical patronage with ecclesiastical right and jurisdiction in civil matters, granted by the Kings of Spain, constituted the clergy an element of Government, and hence the evil which has been transmitted to Colombia and other countries, that the ecclesiastics, instead of being ministers of God Our Lord Jesus Christ, by vocation, have come to be a species of officials, and the priesthood turned into a political pursuit, and benefits conferred on it for its civil merits and not for its apostolic virtues. Consequently men who entered the priesthood not as a vocation, gave loose rein to the passions

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

of the flesh and failed to observe ecclesiastical celibacy, violating it by shameful unions, and above all, repeated and incestuous ones.⁴⁰

The Colombian leader made some exceptions to this unfortunate state of Church leadership, but contended that the exceptions were few. He and Father Bernal apparently agreed in this respect. In addition to immorality among churchmen Mosquera lamented the closely knit relationship between the civil and religious authorities in Colombia. The Church should be supreme in matters of theology, he contended, and the State should be secure in civil pursuits. The Catholic religion should be preserved and the Church should preach charity, brotherly love, and obedience to the national laws. Its leaders should abstain from worldly affairs in order to help conciliate political disturbances. To those familiar with Colombian history this last precept of Mosquera's seems to be particularly appropriate.

The autumn of the same year that Mosquera had an interview with the Bishop of Westminster, he addressed a circular to Archbishop Herrán, head of the Church in Colombia, in which he repeated and enlarged upon his criticisms of the prelates. Eleven days later the Archbishop replied.

In his circular Mosquera had accused the Church of denying the principles upon which the nation's sovereignty was founded. To this Herrán answered:

It has not come to my knowledge that any member of the Catholic Clergy has denied or called in question the 'principle itself upon which the national government is based.' I presume the principle to which you wish to refer is that of popular sovereignty, in temporal matters; but as the principle is, within its due limits, a Catholic principle, because the church teaches dogmatically that all lawful power comes from God and the doctors of the church itself maintain that God has conferred on society the right to choose the form of government by which it wishes to be governed, and that God himself by communication mediate or immediate, clothes those elected to govern with the necessary powers; there cannot be a single Catholic Bishop or priest who contends for a teaching contrary to that of popular origin of the secular public powers; so I have briefly explained away this

⁴⁰ Tomás Mosquera to the Bishop of Westminster, January 29, 1866, enclosure with, Burton to Seward, December 20, 1866, Despatches.

charge without departing from the doctrine of the church, from which I will never depart, with the divine assistance.⁴¹

Mosquera contended that Colombia had exercised only those rights that had been practiced by the civil governments of other Catholic nations like Spain, France, Italy, and some of the republics of the American continent. The Archbishop conceded this, but maintained, nevertheless, that the Church had protested in all other countries just as it was doing in Colombia. He suggested that the best way to settle disputes between the Church and civil authorities was by concordats.⁴² That he would find nothing in the ecclesiastical archives that had been forcibly taken was a refutation of the President's argument that the people had been required by the priests to return property appropriated by the State. The payment of tithes, he challenged, had not been abrogated by the State; but even if it had been, it would only have meant that the Church could not appeal to secular justice to enforce that religious obligation.

In regard to marriage, the prelate wrote Mosquera, "The report to you of the denial of the ecclesiastical nuptial blessings to Catholics who have contracted civil marriage is incorrect. On the contrary they have been admonished to celebrate matrimony according to the rights of the Catholic Church . . . and to go afterwards to the civil authorities that the marriage should conform also to the requirements of the civil law."⁴³ He refuted the accusation that men who had bought mortmain property had been refused the sacraments of the Church and made a blanket denial of all the President's charges, contending that the Catholic ministers were the first to give obedience to the temporal authorities.

The ascending conflict between the Church and the State reached the zenith of its fury in 1866. Mosquera's hold upon the country diminished as his vengeance increased. He was

⁴¹ Archbishop of Bogotá to Mosquera, November 6, 1866, enclosure with, *ibid.*

⁴² When the Church regained its power a concordat between the Papacy and Colombia was signed December 31, 1887, and sanctioned by Congress the following year. It is considered a model by the Church. Mechem, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157. Later on this document will be considered more fully.

⁴³ Archbishop of Bogotá to Mosquera, November 6, 1866, enclosure with, Burton to Seward, December 20, 1866, Despatches.

exiled in 1867, the year that Peter J. Sullivan went to Bogotá as American minister.⁴⁴ On February 10, 1868, Sullivan wrote the Department of State, "It is with sorrow that I have to announce the death of the great and good Antonio Herrán the Catholic Arch-Bishop and Primate of Colombia, who had lived as he had died, a true christian and philanthropist. He was at the time of his death the foremost man in this country."⁴⁵

Though the Liberals continued in control of the nation after Mosquera's departure, radicalism and reckless action within their ranks solidified the opposition into a Church Party.

The question of the privileges and powers of the Catholic church will come before the next Congress. The nation long since dissolved the Monasteries, and after seizing upon their property, has sold it to many purchasers. The Church has never recognized this law and has compelled penitents to make restitution, under penalty of refusing the sacraments of the Church. [It will be recalled that the Archbishop wrote Mosquera this had not been done.]

This conduct on the part of the Priesthood, has been very fiercely

"The day after the Senate completed Mosquera's trial, Sullivan wrote: "The great Mosquera is no more—he is politically dead—and like those of Canute, his followers have fled." Peter J. Sullivan to Seward, November 1, 1867, Despatches.

"Sullivan was a Catholic. At the time he interviewed Seward regarding his appointment to some diplomatic mission the designation to Rome had not been made. Seward asked him to state his religious faith, which he did. Alluding later to this conversation in a letter, Sullivan recounted what he had said. ". . . I was bread [*sic*] and educated in the Catholic Church, but had married a Presbyterian lady, and was liberal. You then Spoke of the Mission to Rome, and said that you preferred a Catholic for that Court, and one that would be satisfactory to the Purcells. [John Baptist Purcell, Archbishop of Cincinnati.]" Sullivan to Seward, February 27, 1867, Appointment Papers.

On behalf of his appointment Sullivan enclosed a letter of recommendation of June 12, 1861, which Reverend Edward Purcell, brother of the Archbishop, had written to the late Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, and suggested to Seward that his conduct since that date had strengthened his bonds with the clergymen.

"As a liberal in religion and politics, and relying on the rectitude of my life and principles, *four Regiments of fearless and patriotic* citizens of Ohio, rushed with me to Suppress the rebellion, and preserve our great and glorious national Government from disintegration and decay: And, although I am now a cripple of the service—drawing three quarters pension—I am Still a liberal, and for the Union and Speedy representation of all the states, that they may exist to rebuke the errors and crimes of the old, and reform the follies of the new, world. . . ." *Ibid.*

and unwisely attacked by the Liberals, and the battle will be bitter in Congress.⁴⁶

The height to which religious feeling had risen is well illustrated by a despatch which William L. Scruggs wrote to his government December 27, 1873. He was engaged at the time in moving the office of the Legation from one part of the city to another. While he and his small son were in the new house, but before all the equipment had been moved, and prior to the placement of the shield or insignia on the outside of the property, it was stoned by rabble attached to a religious procession. The despatch relates that, "All the other houses fronting the plaza, except this one, had hung from their windows and balconies symbolic emblems in recognition of the procession."⁴⁷

This incident provoked an exchange of notes between Scruggs and the Colombian Minister for Foreign Affairs, by which it was amicably settled.

The Church frequently manifested faith in the sword, as if it were wholly compatible with the teachings of Christ. It was one of its chief weapons, both of defense and offense. For example:

In April last one Bermudez, a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, in the State of Cauca, boldly proclaimed against the public school system of this republic.

Very soon others of the Catholic clergy joined in the crusade, and, in May following, further attendance upon or encouragement of the public schools was made punishable by excommunication.

The result was a concession by the civil authorities, whereby one hour each day was set aside for religious instruction in the schools, under the direction of such priests or churchmen as might be agreeable to the teachers and parents of the children.

This concession, made in the face of threats of armed revolt by the church or "conservative" party, only encouraged further demands. Bermudez and his faction insisted that the entire management of the public schools in the locality of Papyon [Popayán] be intrusted to the clergy.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Stephen A. Hurlbut to Hamilton Fish, January 25, 1871, Despatches.

⁴⁷ *Foreign Relations of the United States*, 1874, p. 354. Cited hereafter as *For. Rel.*

⁴⁸ William L. Scruggs to Fish, *For. Rel.*, 1876, p. 93.

A commissioner was sent by the Government to attempt an amicable settlement with the Church faction, but upon returning to Bogotá he reported his inability to do so. About the time he got back to the capital the conflict started.

"At the hour of 3 a.m., on the 11th instant, the town of Palmyra was attacked by a force of three hundred men, under the cry of '*Viva la Religion, viva el padre Holguin y el partido conservador.*' After two hours' engagement, resulting in many killed and wounded, the assailants were defeated, making their escape."⁴⁹

Many of the insurgent troops were commanded by priests. The despatch just referred to declares that a force under the command of a prelate named Guerrero was reported marching upon Cartago in the Cauca Valley. National troops had been sent to the relief of the threatened locality, but although not certain of his conclusion, Scruggs expressed the opinion that Cartago was already taken by the insurgents.

"Such is the origin of what promises to become a formidable revolution, should the adjoining State of Antioquia, which is disaffected toward the national government, join the insurgents."⁵⁰ Three weeks later Scruggs reported that the States of Antioquia and Tolina had both made declarations of war against the national government.

In characterizing this revolt, the American Minister wrote that an intense religious fanaticism prevailed on the one side while as bitter hatred of ecclesiastical power pervaded the ranks of the other. One declared an unalterable purpose to reëstablish the power of the Church; the other entertained the hope of completing reforms inaugurated fifteen years before, and the final elimination of ecclesiastical influence from the political system of the Republic. To Scruggs this was no quarrel of rival politicians. In its last analysis it was perhaps nothing more or less, he thought, than a revival of the old issue between free institutions and ecclesiastical usurpation:

The revolution of 1863 resulted, as you are aware, in the complete separation of Church and State. The clergy, who had been a potent civil factor in the Republic, were disfranchised. Many of them were banished from the country. More than three fourths of the Church

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

property was sequestered. And a constitution of civil government was adopted intended to establish perfect freedom of conscience, liberty of speech, and free education.

Some years later, and in pursuance of the original plan of the revolution, a system of Public Instruction was established, and the schools placed exclusively under the supervision and control of the civil authorities. But, in deference to the dominant religious sentiment of the country, it was soon found necessary to make some concession to the demands of the Church; and certain hours of each day were accordingly set apart in which the parish priest was admitted to the schools for the purpose of imparting religious instruction therein. It remained optional with the pupils (or rather with their parents and guardians,) whether they should avail themselves of his services or not; but neither school boards nor teachers could exclude him, *whilst the doors of the school room were closed against all other religious teachers, and especially to those of an "heretical" faith.*⁶¹

Even under these circumstances the Church was not satisfied. She had always insisted upon absolute control and direction of the public schools, to the entire exclusion of civil authorities. The civil war of 1876-77 was incited by the Church in defense of this principle, and our minister considered it the only vital internal political issue among the Colombian people.

III

In the vanguard of the progressive movement against ecclesiastical domination in the 1860's was Tomás Cipriano de Mosquera, who previously had been a staunch supporter of the Church; and paradoxically the man who piloted the Church across the Rubicon of her long and determined march to regain a lost position of power was Rafael Núñez, who had been one of the leaders of the liberal movement, and prior to his formation of a reform government in favor of the Church had served as a liberal President.

In 1880, when Núñez came to power,

Church and State were separated; the ecclesiastical *fueros* were abolished; the government recognized no civil compulsion in the payment of tithes; ecclesiastical property, with the exception of the actual Church buildings and residences of the clergy, had been appro-

⁶¹ Scruggs to Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, November 1, 1882, Despatches. *Italics mine.*

priated by the government; the religious orders were abolished; cemeteries were secularized; marriage was declared to be an obligatory civil ceremony; and in the exercise of the right of "inspection of cults" the government controlled purely spiritual matters.⁵²

The triumph of the Church is easily discernible in the Constitution of 1886, which was sponsored by Núñez. In his covering despatch, with which he enclosed an English translation of this instrument, V. O. King, chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, wrote: "It unites church and state to the extent of adopting the Roman Catholic creed as that of the people, of placing it under the special protection of the Government, and of requiring its tenets to be taught in the public schools."⁵³

King also gives an interesting account of how this constitution came into being.

At the close of the late revolution President Nunez, whose term of office had then nearly expired and whose re-election was forbidden by the constitution then in force, issued a proclamation annulling that instrument and declaring an interregnum in the Government. He appointed provisional governors in all of the nine States, and directed them to nominate two delegates each, who, together, should constitute a national council to convene at the capital. On assembling in November, 1885, the first acts of this body were to ratify the conduct of Dr. Nunez and to confirm his appointments. It then elected him as chief magistrate of the nation for the term of six years, and proceeded to formulate a *projet* of fundamental principles for a new constitution to be submitted to the corporate vote of the municipal boards of aldermen throughout the country. Upon canvassing the returns the council declared a majority of such votes to be in favor of the new constitution, and thereupon proceeded to elaborate the instrument that is herewith submitted, which, from the number, fullness, and precision of the precepts enunciated, has left but little of the machinery to be devised by the executive or legislative power. At the conclusion of these labors the national council resolved itself into a Congress for legislative purposes, and it will continue to serve in that capacity until the first constitutional Congress assembles, on the 20th July, 1888.⁵⁴

⁵² Mecham, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

⁵³ V. O. King to Thomas F. Bayard, October 22, 1886, *For. Rel.*, 1886, p. 177.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

The Concordat of 1888 subjected the State to further regimentation by the Church. Articles of this document treating of religion and education read as follows:

Art. 1. The Catholic, Roman, Apostolic is the religion of Colombia, the public authorities of which shall recognize it as an essential element of social order, and they bind themselves to protect it in all its rights and privileges, and to cause it and its ministers to be respected.

Art. 2. The Catholic Church shall be free and independent of the civil authority, and shall freely exercise all its spiritual authority and jurisdiction, conforming in its administrative government solely to its own laws.

Art. 3. Canonical legislation shall be free of the civil, and shall form no part of the latter, but will be respected by the latter.

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Art. 12. Public education and instruction in universities, colleges, schools, and in other centers of instruction shall be organized and directed in conformity with the dogmas and moral teachings of the Catholic Church.

Art. 13. Consequently, in such centers of instruction the respective diocesan bishops, either by themselves or by special delegation, shall exercise the right, in whatever concerns religion and morals, to inspect and revise the text-books in use in the same.

The archbishop of Bogota shall prescribe the text-books relating to religion and morals to be used in the universities; and to insure uniformity of teaching on those subjects, said prelate, in connection with other bishops, shall choose the text-books for the other schools of official instruction.

The Government shall see that no lectures are delivered on literary, scientific, or general subjects in any branch of learning that inculcate ideas contrary to Catholic dogmas or calculated to lessen the respect due to the church.

Art. 14. If, in spite of the orders and precautions of the Government, the moral and religious teaching (in universities, colleges, etc.) shall not conform to Catholic doctrines, the respective diocesans may withdraw from the offending professors and masters the privilege of teaching in such branches.

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Art. 32. The present convention repeals and renders null and void all laws, orders, and decrees, in whatsoever mode or period they were

promulgated, in such parts as may contradict or are inconsistent with this convention, which shall remain the permanent law of the State.⁵⁵

When John G. Walker, chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, sent a translation of this concordat to Secretary of State Bayard he also enclosed a translation of Law No. 30, passed by the Legislative Council February 25, 1888. In his covering despatch he wrote that this law "... virtually annuls all civil marriages, celebrated at any time in the past, unless the ceremony was also performed canonically. The annulment of the marriage, however, does not illegitimise the children of such marriage."⁵⁶

Articles 34, 35, and 36 of Walker's translation of Law No. 30 read as follows:

A marriage, contracted in conformity with the rites of the Catholic Religion, annuls *ipso jure*, a purely civil marriage, previously entered into with another person.

For purely civil effects, the law recognizes the legitimacy of the children, conceived previously to the annulment of the civil marriage, in accordance with the provisions of the last preceding article.

The man, who after contracting a civil marriage, afterwards marries another woman, according to the rights [*sic*] of the Catholic Church, is required to provide subsistence to the woman and his children by her, until she marries canonically.⁵⁷

In 1891, the Colombian government officially received an apostolic delegate from Rome with the diplomatic rank of Envoy Extraordinary of the Holy See. Prior to that time the only foreign diplomat accredited to Colombia with the rank of envoy extraordinary was the representative of the United States, who had always been recognized as dean of the diplomatic corps. The origin of the suggestion is not revealed, but someone proposed to John Abbott that since the new envoy represented His Holiness the Pope in a Catholic country, courtesy required that the deanship of the corps be relinquished to him. Although the entire diplomatic corps admitted that the new delegate was not entitled to precedence

⁵⁵ Enclosure with, John G. Walker to Bayard, March 7, 1888, *For. Rel.*, 1888, pt. 1, p. 416.

⁵⁶ Walker to Bayard, March 7, 1888, Despatches.

⁵⁷ Enclosure with, *ibid.*

and a majority was unwilling that he should yield it, Abbott wrote his government: "Personally I should be glad to do so, not only on account of the social and mental gifts of the Delegate, but as an act of courtesy to the Republic to which I am accredited."⁵⁸

In reply to this despatch the Acting Secretary of State told Mr. Abbott to ascertain the wishes of the Colombian government in regard to the matter and to be guided by an instruction previously given on the same subject to the United States minister to Peru. This instruction reads in part:

The Department has no special instructions to give in the matter, as it is thought that the determination of ceremonial precedence among envoys of equal rank pertains to the government which receives them. This government has adopted as its guide the rules of the Congress of Vienna of 1815, as a convenient and generally acceptable statement. The 4th rule provides that:

"Diplomatic agents shall take precedence in their respective classes, according to the date of the official notification of their arrival. The present regulation shall not cause any innovation with regard to the representation of the Pope."

This latter clause has no application in the United States, no diplomatic relations being maintained by us with the Vatican. This Government has not opposed the practice of courtesy, by which precedence is allowed to the Papal envoy in countries which maintain such relations.

Your attitude may appropriately remain one of neutral acquiescence in whatever rule may be agreeable to the Government of Peru.⁵⁹

IV

Among the documents examined in the pursuit of this study no evidence was found that any church of the Protestant faith, other than the Presbyterian, had made any serious efforts toward missionary activities in Colombia. In this connection Minister Dabney Herndon Maury sent a confidential despatch to the Department in which he delineated the reactionary tendencies of the Catholic Church during the adminis-

⁵⁸ John T. Abbott to James G. Blaine, March 16, 1891, Despatches. Abbott was the son of a New England clergyman and became Minister in 1889.

⁵⁹ Acting Secretary A. A. Adeo to John Hicks, February 19, 1891, Dip. Inst., Peru.

tration of Núñez, and revealed his forebodings regarding the fate of Protestant enterprises.

The Church, by recent acts, has caused some anxiety to the Liberal party, and it is feared that the Protestant mission, at this place [Bogotá], may be suppressed or interfered with. Whether the treaty, between the United States and Colombia [1846], which guarantees the free exercise of their religion by the citizens of each country respectively, also includes the right of Americans to establish and maintain Protestant missions in this country, is questioned.⁶⁰

Maury anticipated the issue would be raised at any moment and he asked the Department for instructions.

Article XIII of the treaty referred to reads in part as follows:

Both contracting parties promise and engage formally to give their special protection to the persons and property of the citizens of each other, of all occupations, who may be in the territories subject to the jurisdiction of one or the other, transient or dwelling therein. . . .⁶¹

Article XIV of the same treaty reads in part:

The citizens of the United States residing in the territories of the Republic of New Granada shall enjoy the most perfect and entire security of conscience, without being annoyed, prevented or disturbed on account of their religious belief. Neither shall they be annoyed, molested or disturbed in the proper exercise of their religion in private houses, or in the chapels or places of worship appointed for that purpose, provided that in so doing they observe the decorum due to divine worship and the respect due to the laws, usages, and customs of the country.⁶²

When instructing Maury, the Secretary of State pointed out that although persons of an alien faith were obviously protected in their private houses and chapels, he did not care to give an opinion on the worship of such individuals outside of these places.⁶³

⁶⁰ Dabney Herndon Maury to Bayard, October 19, 1887, Despatches. General Maury was a Protestant. In his book, *Recollections of a Virginian*, he is highly complimentary of both the officials and civilians of Colombia. See pp. 269-279.

⁶¹ William M. Malloy, *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements . . . , 1776-1909* (2 vols., Washington, 1910), I, 305-306.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 306.

⁶³ Secretary Bayard to Maury, December 8, 1887, Dip. Inst., Col.

In reality, however, to break through the legal barriers that thwarted the evangelistic enterprises of so-called "heretical" faiths required more mental and spiritual acumen than a missionary organization that enjoyed the support, neither of the civil government nor the military establishment, could muster. In respect to this the Department of State inquired of Abbott how foreign religious and eleemosynary corporations might acquire real estate in Colombia. His interpretation of Colombian law respecting such a transaction was that the persons desirous of doing so would have to petition for and execute "incorporation" proceedings under the Colombian legal code. Having done this, if the corporation had for its joint object teaching and charity, and was not Roman Catholic, it would have to secure approval of the government of the Department in which the property was located to the appointment of all its principal officers.

Abbott felt that the incorporation proceedings would not be difficult to obtain, but the obligation of a Protestant missionary board to secure the approval of Catholic officials to the appointment of professors in its institutions he felt would be particularly onerous. And as his personal opinion, thinking primarily from the missionary point of view, he suggested that the difficulty experienced by the Presbyterian missionaries not be further agitated at the moment. The Department, he pointed out, however, might wish to proceed on the theory that the Treaty of 1846 was being violated.⁶⁴

Apropos of Abbott's interpretation of the procedure by which religious, educational and charitable organizations might secure title to real estate, the Secretary of State instructed Charles Burdett Hart, one of Abbott's successors, to lend whatever assistance he could to Presbyterian missionaries in Colombia in providing for the incorporation of the Church's property.⁶⁵

It is interesting to note that twenty years earlier when Minister Ernest Dichman⁶⁶ was attempting to assist the Presbyte-

⁶⁴ Abbott to Walter Q. Gresham, May 12, 1893, Despatches.

⁶⁵ Secretary John Hay to Charles Burdett Hart, May 31, 1899, Dip. Inst., Col.

⁶⁶ Eneas McLean, unidentified, met Dichman on the steamer between New York and Aspinwall. In a letter from Valparaiso, Chile, he gave President Hayes his

rian Church to acquire a perfect title to property in Colombia, and requested the Department for Instructions, he was advised that the matter was of a purely private nature. He was told to communicate with the mission board of the Church, if he desired to do so, but to be careful not to compromise his position as a diplomatic agent of this country.⁶⁷

Irrespective, however, of the activities of our ministers and the protection, if any, accorded foreign missionaries by treaty stipulations, the combined efforts of the Catholic clergy and sympathetic support rendered them by the civil authorities resulted in the closing of a boys' school in Barranquilla, which was operated by the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States. This action provoked the Department of State to instruct the minister at Bogotá to report what had been done, and what could be done, to secure to the missionaries sent out by the Board the rights they may have had under the treaties between the United States and Colombia.⁶⁸

Replying to this instruction, Arthur M. Beaupré, who was in charge of the Legation during Hart's absence, wrote in regard to closing the boys' school at Barranquilla: ". . . I have the honor to report that very nearly the same difficulties were experienced in this city, and it required considerable pressure on the part of Mr. Hart before permission was given to open the schools. Both the girls' and boys' schools are now running, the latter with an unusually large attendance."⁶⁹

Beaupré knew nothing of the closure of the school in Ba-

impressions of him. "He vows himself a materialistic pantheist and so opposed to the religion of Jesus Christ. I fear he will work mischief to the Protestant missions at Bogota." McLean to President Hayes, September 11, 1878, Appointment Papers.

J. A. Straight, editor of the *Idaho Enterprise*, wrote of Dichman to Secretary Blaine: "I brought knowledge of his exceedingly bad character to your predecessor Mr. Evarts as well as President Hayes and they withheld his Commission but through the *persistent* and *dishonest* course of Secretary Schurz and Alexander Stephens he was allowed to depart to his post. . . ." Straight to Blaine, March 26, 1881, *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Secretary of State William M. Evarts to Ernest Dichman, September 17, 1879, Dip. Inst., Col.

⁶⁸ Secretary Hay to Hart, March 26, 1902, *For. Rel.*, 1902, p. 293.

⁶⁹ Arthur M. Beaupré to Hay, May 12, 1902, Despatches.

rranquilla until he received the Department's instruction. He had, however, received a letter from Reverend J. G. Touzeau in which the writer complained that the Governor of the Province of Antioquia had refused to permit opening of the Colegio Americano in Medellín.⁷⁰

Subsequent to the receipt of Touzeau's letter, Beaupré called on the Minister of Public Instruction by whom he was informed that a telegram had already been sent to Antioquia instructing the Governor to open the college.⁷¹ Later the Minister of Public Instruction informed Beaupré that, if after an investigation he found conditions in Barranquilla such as they were in Bogotá and Medellín, he would also have that school opened.⁷²

Afterwards the Colombian minister informed Beaupré he would instruct the Governor of the Province of Bolívar to open the school at Barranquilla.⁷³ As we shall see, however, this instruction, if given, was not executed.

Courtenay H. Fenn of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, in a letter to Secretary of State Hay, presented the Board's position regarding the school at Barranquilla. His letter is dated March 19, 1902.⁷⁴ He believed the school had been closed by Colombian authorities because the Board's minister, Reverend W. S. Lee, provoked the Catholics by taking up contributions among the business men of Barranquilla to defray the construction cost of a new building. The sum of \$800.00 was contributed. On learning of these activities the Catholics of the community published an alarm entitled *Awake Catholics*. This pamphlet reads:

The Protestant minister and principal of the American college is collecting a sum in gold for the construction of a building for said college. No one is so foolish as not to believe that that college is for the propagation of Protestantism, although they deny it, and surely no Catholic will commit the error of aiding with his money, even

⁷⁰ J. G. Touzeau to Hart, February 8, 1902. See Miscellaneous Record Book, 1902, archives of the American Legation at Bogotá.

⁷¹ Hart received a letter from Touzeau dated June 5, 1902, informing him the school at Medellín had been opened. See *ibid.*

⁷² Beaupré to Hay, May 12, 1902, Despatches.

⁷³ Beaupré to Hay, July 11, 1902, Despatches.

⁷⁴ Enclosure with, Hay to Hart, March 26, 1902, *For. Rel.*, 1902, p. 293.

though in form of a loan, the work of heresy. It is good that the foreigners here, who are almost all of them Protestants or Jews, should contribute; but that one of our fellow-countrymen, a son of a country so catholic as Colombia, should help the Yankee Protestants to sow the seed of disbelief in the minds of the youth, to say the least of it, with all its fatal consequences, thus preparing the way to Americanism, is not only sinning against religion, but also against society and against our native country.

Awake, Catholics and Colombians! Do not be deceived! Have no respect for any man! Before this, our country; and before our country, God.⁷⁵

When notifying the Mission Board of the closure of the school Lee explained that the missionaries had interviewed the Governor of Bolívar, the province in which the city was located. After listening to the reasons for his decision, they inquired of him if he had issued the decree against them as foreigners and protestants, and he replied frankly that he had. When they asked if he had received any damaging reports of their school, he replied that he was not compelled to answer such a question and that it was sufficient for him to say that they were Protestants.⁷⁶

Happily, however, this issue was settled in the fall of 1902. "I have the pleasure of informing you that the Governor of the department has at last granted us permission to open our schoo [school]. . . ."⁷⁷ Lee gave full credit to the intervention of the American minister, Beaupré, as being responsible for the school's reopening.

The following year Hart engaged in a diplomatic encounter with the Colombian government regarding renewed interference with the two schools at Bogotá, one for boys and one for girls, and the same which Beaupré referred to in his despatch of May 12, 1902. They had been closed for a usual holiday season and preparatory to reopening the principals had applied to the Minister of Public Instruction, in accordance with a legislative requirement, for permission to reopen them. A month later, having received no response, the prin-

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 294-295.

⁷⁷ Walter Scott Lee to Beaupré, September 8, 1902. See *Miscellaneous Record Book*, 1902, archives of the American Legation at Bogotá.

cipals called at the Ministry of Public Instruction and were informed their petitions would be answered about two weeks later in a general resolution covering all such applications. Then the principals appealed to the American Legation. Minister Hart worked at the problem two months before he notified the Department of State. He revealed in his despatch on the subject that

The principals of these institutions are citizens of the United States, persons of good character and of good standing in this community. An executive decree of legislative character issued during the recent civil war in Colombia requires that permission to open a school be asked of the Ministry of Public Instruction. As appears from the correspondence the permission was asked in due form, and, after much unnecessary and vexatious delay, granted in a form which could have no other result than to embarrass seriously the operation of the schools.

After sending to the Foreign Office my note of January 8, 1903, I took the matter up personally with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Felipe F. Paúl, who said, under reserve, that his personal opinion accorded with mine; that my note was unanswerable; and that he hoped that the Minister of Public Instruction might be compelled to allow the American Schools to go on as before. The Minister added that of course he might be required to take another view as Minister for Foreign Affairs, and begged that I would note the difference between Dr. Paúl, the individual, and Dr. Paúl the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I replied that I noted the difference.⁷⁸

Hart also approached Vice-President Marroquín, at the time chief magistrate of the nation, in regard to the inactivity of the government and further informed Hay that, "The Vice-President said that the matter was to be arranged according to my desires, to wit, that the schools should be conducted as before, being entirely free to advertise and to receive pupils without regard to the religious beliefs of parents or guardians."⁷⁹ The Vice-President also informed Hart that if the principals would return to the Ministry of Public Instruction they would be granted permission to open the schools on this basis. Having made this verbal commitment the Vice-President expressed the wish that notes passed on the subject

⁷⁸ Hart to Hay, March 2, 1903, Despatches.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

would be withdrawn, to which Hart assented, provided the Americans in question, and others similarly occupied, be accorded the rights upon which it was his duty to insist. To this Marroquín agreed.

The despatch relates further that the principals applied for their memorials as instructed. Instead of issuing new ones, however, as had been agreed upon, Malbone W. Graham, one of the principals, had his old one handed back to him “. . . so erased and interlined as to remove the prohibition in respect of the admission of pupils not children of Protestant parents, and leaving the prohibition of any kind of advertising.”⁸⁰

The Colombian authorities felt if they could keep the schools from advertising they would not attract enough pupils to remain open. Hart was provoked to call upon the Vice-President again, and he also sent another note to the Minister for Foreign Affairs on February 23, 1903, which had not been answered when he concluded his report to the Department by stating, “The well and publicly understood object of the Minister of Public Instruction is to drive out of existence any and all schools in Colombia conducted by persons who do not profess the Roman Catholic faith; and this because he is, just what the Minister for Foreign Affairs in a conversation with me declared him to be, a religious fanatic of high degree.”⁸¹

A commentary of Minister Scruggs on the colonial background of these people helps one better to understand their attitude on religious toleration:

They had never known anything like local self-government, and they knew even less of religious liberty. The natives had been reduced to a condition of abject servitude; the creole population had been trained never to question authority of the imported magistrate; and the authority in temporal affairs of an established Church had never been controverted by either. The Church ruled everything, from the household to the common-law courts. It had prohibited the teaching of the arts and sciences; restricted education to the Latin grammar

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.* See also the following letters in Miscellaneous Record Book, 1903, archives of the American Legation at Bogotá: Malbone W. Graham to Hart, January 6, 1903; February 2, 1903; February 6, 1903; and Hart to Graham, January 9, 1903.

and the catechism; and limited the public libraries to the writings of the Fathers and to works on civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence. It had even prohibited the study of modern geography and astronomy, and forbade the reading of books of travel. It discouraged the study of the higher mathematics, and condemned all philosophic inquiry and speculation as heresy. It had even placed under the ban such innocent fiction as *Gil Blas* and *Robinson Crusoe*; and there had never been a book or a magazine or a newspaper in the whole country that was not conformed to the strictest rule of the Roman Index.⁸²

No evidence could be found that the Colombian government ever granted full permission for the Bogotá schools to reopen. Nevertheless, after revealing a commendable degree of patience, Hart and the principals decided to begin classes on February 3, 1903.⁸³

On this same date Graham wrote the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board in New York, "In a letter addressed to Dr. Brown, I have recounted the opposition to our schools on the part of the Minister of Public Instruction. Thanks to Mr. Hart's vigorous support of our rights, we shall open on the 3rd of this month, stronger than ever for the victory we have won."⁸⁴

On July 13, 1903, Graham wrote the Board:

We have but little further news to communicate to you in regard to the attitude of the Colombian government. We have never received written permission to open for the present year. The new American minister, Mr. Beaupre, has taken no additional steps, preferring to await the decision of the government at Washington upon the position taken by Mr. Hart. In the meantime we have gone quietly on with our work. The enrolment of the Boys' School to date is 204, only five less than last year's total.⁸⁵

Although it was our stated purpose to extend this study only to 1906, a current appraisal by a representative of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, who is personally

⁸² William L. Scruggs, *The Colombian and Venezuelan Republics* (Boston, 1901), pp. 128-129.

⁸³ This is disclosed in a letter from Graham to Hart, February 2, 1903. See Miscellaneous Record Book, 1903, archives of the American Legation at Bogotá.

⁸⁴ Excerpt from Graham's letter, enclosed with a letter from Webster E. Browning, Presbyterian Foreign Mission Board, to the writer, March 18, 1940.

⁸⁵ Excerpt enclosed with, *ibid.*

familiar with the activities of his denomination in Colombia, is of interest.

The history of these institutions was for many years very troubled and on several occasions it was doubtful whether or not they would be allowed to continue their work. I believe, however, that early in the present century they settled down to a definite existence and I am glad to be able to tell you that all four are now in operation and are doing excellent work. The Girls' School in Bogota has reached that point in the development of our educational program that it has been turned over to the control of a national teacher and under her able direction continues to do excellent work. The other three schools,—the Boys' School in Bogota, the Boys' School in Barranquilla, and the Girls' School in the same city,—are still under direct missionary control, but have been and are making a very valuable contribution to the educational life of the country. The Boys' School in Bogota has recently been granted the recognition of its diplomas as valid to admit the holders to the professional group of the university. This is the first and the only mission school which, to date has received this distinction from the government.⁸⁶

V

A subject closely associated with the Church and education is that of burial grounds. McAfee observed that “. . . the *Catholic Priests* are determined to enforce their rules against all *heretics* who die in this country.”⁸⁷ For this reason he endeavored to secure private cemeteries for the burial of protestant American citizens.⁸⁸ His idea was to provide a

⁸⁶ Letter from Webster E. Browning to the writer, February 28, 1940.

⁸⁷ McAfee to McLane, May 14, 1834, Despatches.

⁸⁸ Steuart, who it will be recalled knew McAfee in Bogotá, tells of an occasion when the infant of one of his employe's died and had to be buried in utmost secrecy to avoid the wrath of the superstitious populace who might see the funeral procession. Telling of their going to the British cemetery for the burial, he wrote, “. . . luckily for our own feelings, and especially for those of the poor parent, the complete concealment of the coffin preserved us from insult; and it was only when turning into the yard from the by-street that we saw two peones gazing on the scene and making the sign of the cross, as the worst of all infections to them is the sight or touch of the dead body of a heretic, even though it be of an innocent babe like this, the pure and perfect symbol of the religion of Him they thus insult by their idle mummery. I read over the little grave the beautiful service for the dead of the Episcopal Church. The earth closed over the coffin, and in all haste we departed. I have witnessed the shrouding of the dead, under many forms and varied circumstances, both on sea and land, but I never felt my

burial ground for non-Catholics at the capital of each province, but his plan failed. One of his successors, Benjamin A. Bidlack, who died and was buried in Colombia, tried to secure a cemetery for Protestants in Bogotá. In 1847 there were twenty-odd families there. But the Secretary of State informed him that there was not even \$500.00, the sum mentioned in his despatch, available for such an enterprise.⁸⁹

After the signing of the concordat with Rome, and the passage of Law No. 30, which gave the Church such inclusive jurisdiction over marriage rights, an additional convention was signed with the Vatican, which likewise strengthened the Church's position with regard to cemeteries. It provided that all burial grounds, except those belonging to private individuals or corporations, should be handed over to the Church to be managed and regulated independently of the civil authorities. Certain cemeteries, the maintenance of which was an extraordinarily heavy drain on the public treasury, and in which there had been a number of changes of possession in favor of private citizens, the Church agreed should remain under the jurisdiction of the State, but it reserved full spiritual authority over them. The civil authorities remained in control of the cemeteries in matters of public health and police regulations, and could demand the burial of abandoned corpses under exceptional circumstances. To officers of the State it was made plain that they should always endeavor to act in harmony with the ecclesiastics in order to avoid differences. Article 18 of the convention provided that:

Special cemeteries shall be established for the interment of bodies, which cannot be placed in hallowed ground; principally in towns where deaths of non-Catholic individuals most frequently occur. In order to comply with the above, a locality upon unhallowed ground shall be especially procured, to be obtained with municipal funds, and

whole soul so weighed down and distressed as when, surrounded by the din and bustle of a Christian-termed city containing 30,000 souls, the body of this pure and disenfranchised spirit, born of Christian parents, and dying ere it could even have been thought culpable for the heretic parents' opinions, was committed to the dark womb of earth in the same manner as though it had been the victim of an assassin's steel, and by the foul murderer himself, during the lonely midnight hour." *Steuart, op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁸⁹ James Buchanan to Benjamin A. Bidlack, March 25, 1847, *Dip. Inst.*, Col.

should this prove impossible, the land required for these cemeteries, shall be obtained by secularizing, and separating a part of the Catholic cemetery, divided by a fence from the non-Catholic cemetery.⁹⁰

This has been a study of conflict. From the beginning of the period to the end there was never an armistice. The secular authorities, trying to conduct civil affairs of the nation, were constantly in conflict with the Church which contended that the union of spiritual and temporal powers was the natural state. As we have pointed out, the chief victims of this condition of unrest were the masses, the average citizens of Colombia, who were wholly at the mercy of either the religious or political leaders. The testimony presented here lays bare the evils of each of the opposing forces. The harm done to both the Church and the State is illustrated in the radicalism of López and Mosquera; while the moral depravity of the Church was boldly confessed by Father Bernal, and the Church's triumph in power is illustrated by the Constitution of 1886, the Concordat of 1888, and the conventions which followed.

CAREY SHAW, JR.

National Archives, Washington, D. C.

⁹⁰ Enclosure with, Luther F. McKinney to Gresham, November 25, 1893, Despatches. McKinney was a Universalist minister and a member of Congress before his appointment to Bogotá. At South Newmarket, N. H., on May 9, 1875, he preached a sermon entitled, *Catholicism Rebuked*. This sermon was published the same year at the office of the *Newmarket Advertiser* and placed on sale in book stores.

DOCUMENTS

A LETTER OF DOM PEDRO II, EMPEROR OF BRAZIL

I

In the following letter Dom Pedro II appears to the reader as historians most frequently have painted him: a kindly man, a man of simple tastes, a humble and sincere person, with intellectual gifts not limited to statecraft. Dom Pedro was truly a monarch of unusual talents, and no facet of his personality has been more consistently revealed than his love of erudition. Archaeology, philosophy, astronomy—these were some of Pedro's favorite studies which caused him, in the search for knowledge, to attend French scientific gatherings and to maintain a wide correspondence with European scholars. Perhaps it may not be amiss to repeat what has been so often stated, that Dom Pedro would have been a teacher had his birth not destined him for another calling.

Pedro's undated letter to the Baron Cloquet,¹ of the Institute of France, which is hereinafter published, will be received by students as an interesting, and very personal, contribution to the emperor's biography. Dom Pedro may have doted on the empty honors of "Corresponding Member of the Institute of France," as Eça de Queiroz has wittily observed,² but it is well to remember the better qualities of a sovereign who never seems to have been overpowered by the aura of majesty.

The Catholic University of America.

Manoel S. Cardozo

II

Mr

J'ai été à Paris si habitué à vous rencontrer dans les sociétés scientifiques; vous m'avez traité avec tant de bonté que j'ai le droit d'en profiter pour me rappeler à votre souvenir; surtout ayant à Paris présenter un de mes compatriotes que s'est distingué comme profes-

¹ Jules-Germain Cloquet (1790-1883), French anatomist and surgeon. He became a member in 1855.

² *Cartas ineditas de Fradique Mendes e mais paginas esquecidas* (Pôrto, 1929), p. 261.

seur de médecine légale et de toxicologie à l'école de Rio. Mr le Dr Ferreira d'Abreu Baron de Thérésopolis³ est aussi mon médecin et je lui dois beaucoup de reconnaissance pour la santé de ma femme et la vie de ma fille. Il a été déjà à Paris après avoir pris son grade de Dr à l'école de Rio; il s'y est perfectionné dans la chimie travaillant au laboratoire de Pelouze⁴ et acquis l'estime d'Orfila⁵ par une excellente étude sur la vérification de l'arsenic dans les cas d'empoisonnement. Nous le connaissons peut-être dès ce temps-là. Il fait aussi un cours de chimie à mes filles pendant leur éducation. Enfin je l'estime [*sic*] beaucoup et je suis sûr que vous aimerez à avoir des rapports avec lui. Il fait ce second voyage en Europe pour étudier sur place les progrès de la médecine légale et diriger le perfectionnement des études de son fils qui vient de recevoir le grade de Dr en médecine à l'école de Rio.

Continuez-vous à enrichir les Musées de vos trouvailles si précieuses?

J'espère que vous vous rappelerez quelquefois mon séjour à Paris et l'_____ que je vous ai fait pour la_____ à Toulon quant j'ai visité le_____.

Croyez toujours au sincère attachement de

Votre affectionné

Pedro d'Alcantara.⁶

³ 1823-1885.

⁴ Théophile-Jules Pelouze (1807-1867). A French chemist who is chiefly known for his researches in beet sugar.

⁵ Mathieu Orfila (1787-1853). A French physician and chemist whose principal work lies in the field of toxicology.

⁶ The letter was written in the emperor's own hand. The original is in the manuscript collection of the Lisbon Geographical Society.

BOOK REVIEWS

El Marqués de Osorno Don Ambrosio Higgins 1720-1801. By RICARDO DONOSO. (Santiago de Chile: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Chile, 1941. Pp. xv-504. An appended map. Paper bound. \$60 m/n.)

The Irish have greatly dramatized American history; none more so than the famous pair that in Chilean history bear the name of O'Higgins. The father, as the author makes clear, never used the typical Irish trademark until his last years, while the son perforce passed through childhood and youth under his mother's name. Of this more anon. We are primarily interested in the elder, a native-born Hibernian who ended a long career in Spanish colonial service in the vice-regal palace at Lima.

Of Don Ambrosio's life in Eire, the author says little. Instead he devotes his *Introduction* to pointing out the legends that previous narrators, including so prominent an historian as Don Benjamín Vicuña Mackenna, adopted and embellished, and J. J. Mehegan has made familiar to English readers. The reviewer, for one, wishes he could have seen this chapter sooner. In place of the customary traditions of mean birth and subsequent menial service from which a reputed clerical uncle in Spain rescued him, the author prefers to omit all suppositious details and devote the four opening chapters to the commercial and political background upon which Higgins was to perform. This he does in brief, scholarly sketches of three men, two fellow Irish and a Portuguese, who were his associates during his first years in America, and in a chapter devoted to Higgins' own first trading experience. This, incidentally, was not the mere peddling of tradition, nor were his efforts then centered in Lima. The presence of foreign merchants, largely Irish or Portuguese, in Cádiz, Buenos Aires, Santiago and Lima; the lucrative, not to say honored position that some of them subsequently attained after naturalization, measures the relaxation of earlier regulations against foreign traders, mechanics and professionals under the enlightened despotism of Charles III, and the Irish were the favored beneficiaries of this policy.

From a later statement Higgins claimed to have resided in Cádiz from 1751 to 1756, the year in which he first sailed for Buenos Aires. The desire to join an older brother, supposedly living in Asunción,

may have brought him to America, but his own mercantile interests and those of his Platine friends took him to Santiago de Chile in 1757. Leaving Valparaíso in May, 1759, he was back in Cádiz for a two-years' further stay, during which he became naturalized and was appointed assistant engineer to a fellow Irishman, John Garland. The vessel in which the two surveyors finally sailed bore news of the Treaty of 1763 as well as a consignment of merchandise with which to meet the expenses of the voyage. A winter's passage of the Andes in July of that year brought them to Santiago, whence they were promptly despatched to Valdivia. Henceforth Higgins' tasks were more specifically those of a public employee, inspecting fortifications, exploring the forested wilderness of Araucana, and laying out better routes across the Andes. His trading ventures were entrusted to other friends, generally Irish or Portuguese.

The next voyage of Higgins to Spain corresponded with the measures for the expulsion of the Jesuits. His own petitions for higher appointment, even when reinforced by a commendable memorial and map of Chile, failed to bring promotion; but after his return to that colony in 1769, an uprising of the southern Indians brought him the title of captain of dragoons. From this time Higgins combined military success with civilian duties. During the ensuing quarter-century he filled the posts of intendant of Concepción and captain general and governor of Chile, with remarkable credit to himself and his adopted country. Under his firm, energetic rule the Indians were forced to make peace and *encomiendas* were finally abolished; new cities were founded and old ones re-established, while numerous administrative reforms and public works proclaimed the assiduous care with which the foreign-born executive watched over this remote portion of the Spanish Empire. Nor were the authorities at Lima and at Madrid unmindful of their laborious servant. He was advanced slowly but in regular order to the rank of lieutenant general. Research by relatives in his native Ireland uncovered a noble pedigree. The Spanish crown confirmed this by conferring the title of Baron de Ballenary, after his birth place. Later, he became Marqués de Osorno, a title commemorating the name of the last Chilean city founded by him. Finally, like two of his Spanish-born predecessors, he was transferred to Lima and to the vice-regal seat that marked the acme of Spanish colonial honors. Thus in a very real sense he became the first conspicuous Irishman in American politics!

Not without arousing jealous enmity did Higgins, or "O'Higgins," as he now began to write his name, reach this high and honorable place; but he had shown himself too valuable a servant to be disre-

garded in the perilous times that now fell upon the Spanish possessions. His record prevailed over the charges of his external foes but not over waywardness within his own household. Death alone forestalled his removal from office—an act that the Spanish cabinet hastily decided to take when it learned that the Viceroy's illegitimate son was then in London, plotting against his father's government.

To modern view the attitude of Don Ambrosio toward his illegitimate child seems inexcusable. One must take into account, however, as does the author, the fact that a colonial official was strictly forbidden to contract marriage with any family of the district over which he ruled. At the time of his son's birth the father was approaching sixty years of age, with his greatest prospect of reward still before him; the mother was about eighteen. The aging victim of suppressed passion would have little reason to suppose that his previous good service would lead the government to overlook this illegitimate connection. Hence his anxiety to conceal the scandal, a course that the marriage of the mother to another helped to further. Nevertheless he provided for the livelihood and education of his child among friends, lay and clerical, and sent him to Spain and later to England—all without any public acknowledgment of paternity. Rumors of the truth continued to arise, however, wherever the unhappy victim of the *mésalliance* appeared and when from London the name of Isabel Riquelme's son became associated with revolutionary plots, the viceregal career of the octogenarian father was ended. Death merely outstripped the more dreaded messenger of removal.

The career of the man bespeaks his official integrity, his utter devotion to king and adopted country, his ability as soldier, builder, administrator. His rise to high office, although handicapped by foreign birth, indicates that for a period all too brief the Spanish court could appreciate mere honesty, when accompanied by productive talent, even if concealed by a harsh and cold exterior. Higgins was a man, take him all in all, the likes of which colonial America seldom looked upon.

Señor Donoso has wrought in keeping with his subject. His written style is excellent, affording good practice for those who wish to improve their Spanish. He relies almost wholly on documentary evidence, the fruit of his own labors in American archives or of the generosity of friends in Europe. Indeed, with the facilities afforded by the archives over which he presides or by the previous gatherings of Barros Arana and of Toribio Medina, he need hardly have gone outside his own National Library. Nor has he neglected the best secondary authorities at home and abroad. He presents his conclusions in

a spirit of fair but searching criticism, well in keeping with the best historical canons. His references, placed at the end of each chapter, frequently offer extensive quotations, in addition to those appearing in the text. A portrait of the imposing Marqués forms the frontispiece. These are numerous illustrations, made up of signatures, contemporary maps and plans of cities, and an occasional modern photograph of historic import. An index of persons, an analytical table of contents for the 29 chapters, a documentary appendix of 51 pages, and a bibliography of 8 pages complete the scholarly helps. The University of Chile has provided good paper and excellent press work. There are few errata. An unusually meritorious work!

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

La Gesta Emancipadora del Perú. By J. M. VALEGA. (Lima: La Universidad de San Marcos, 1940. Vol. I, pp. viii, 307; Vol. II, pp. viii, 291.)

Dr. Valega finds in Peru the most important center of the revolutionary movement in South America. He gives the event a broad setting, selecting illustrative material from a wide scope of topics, and then he fits the colonial struggle into the general picture. The Jesuits, the Masons, the Indians, the intellectuals contributed to the force of events which shaped the revolution. The Tupac Amaru uprising was classified as a struggle for political liberty, not independence, but its leader was unable to prevent it from becoming a racial conflict. There was unity in the Latin-American conflicts, and yet they led inevitably to disunion. The Constitution of 1812, inspired by the French Assembly, was not a solution for Latin America.

Out of a wide variety of influences, Valega selects four major factors for the success of the revolution: the efforts of the conspirators in the capital, the army of liberation (San Martín), the squadron from Chile, and the determined effort of North Peru. The author is generous in his praise of San Martín, but not to the extent of neglecting the Peruvians, particularly the "guerrilleros" or "Montoneros." The last hundred pages are devoted to brief accounts of men, women, incidents, and influences contributing to the revolutionary movement.

The form of presentation is somewhat unorthodox. Generalizations, brief encyclopedic sketches, proclamations, letters, long quotations from standard works, and philosophical interpretations are all interspersed without much narrative unity. Authorities are occasion-

ally listed in the body, occasionally in footnotes, but there is no bibliography. Students will, however, find this a useful reference work.

JOHN RYDJORD.

The Municipal University of Wichita.

Historia de la Nación Argentina. By LA ACADEMIA NACIONAL DE LA HISTORIA. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta de la Universidad, 1939-1940. Primera sección, pp. 881; segunda sección, pp. 986.)

With publication beginning in 1939 under the general editorship of Ricardo Levene, this second edition of the *Historia de la Nación Argentina* was designed to consist of ten volumes and to cover Argentina's history from its beginnings up to the definitive organization of the nation in 1862; two supplementary volumes are planned to bring that history down to the 1912 electoral reform. Individual volume titles are: (I) *Tiempos prehistóricos y protohistóricos*; (II) *Europa y España y el momento histórico de los descubrimientos*; (III) *Colonización y organización de Hispano América.—Adelantados y gobernadores del Río de la Plata*; (IV) *El momento histórico del Virreinato del Río de la Plata* (two sections); (V) *La Revolución de Mayo hasta la Asamblea General Constituyente de 1813* (two sections); (VI) *El proceso de la independencia y de la organización política interna, desde 1813 al advenimiento de Rosas en el gobierno de 1829*; (VII) *Rosas y su época*; (VIII) *La Constitución de 1853 y la organización definitiva de la Nación en 1862*; (IX) *Entre Ríos, Corrientes, Santa Fe, Buenos Aires y Territorios Nacionales*; (X) *Córdoba, Mendoza, San Juan, San Luis, La Rioja, Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, Catamarca, Salta y Jujuy*. The two supplementary volumes will be entitled: *Presidencias de Mitre, Sarmiento y Avellaneda* (covering from 1862 to the federalization of Buenos Aires in 1880) and *La historia argentina contemporánea desde la federalización de Buenos Aires hasta la reforma electoral de 1912.—Síntesis sobre nuestra historia y sus hombres representativos*.

The present two sections of Volume V are of monumental proportions, but they refer to the relatively brief period from the May Revolution to the General Constituent Assembly. The first section treats of the ideological currents leading to the Revolution; the general European political situation, with its American repercussions; and early American pre-revolutionary movements. Ideologically, it is claimed that—"La Revolución de América no . . . [fué] más que una faz de la revolución de España como lo era ésta de la revolución francesa, como ésta misma lo era de la transformación por que pasa

la Europa desde tres siglos." The Napoleonic era is studied in detail, with regard to events in Spain, Napoleon's foreign policies, and the English and Portuguese and American reactions to those policies. Early American moves for independence are noted, as well as the historical significance of the economic work of Manuel Belgrano and Mariano Moreno.

The second section of Volume V treats of the May Revolution; the establishment and work of the Junta Gubernativa; the progress of the revolution in the provinces; military defensive efforts in Upper Peru, Paraguay, and Uruguay; the General Congress of the Provinces and the Conference of December 18; the events leading to the formation of the Triumvirate; the General Assemblies and the Revolution of October 8. One of the most interesting of the chapters is that by Ricardo Levene on the beginnings of Argentine federalism, with the author's broad conclusion—"Nuestro federalismo consistió en la lucha de los Cabildos entre sí" (II, p. 472). Other interesting chapters are those on the diplomacy of the May Revolution; on the economic, administrative, and cultural labors of the Junta; and on the military and naval organization of the national forces. A concluding chapter treats of judicial reorganization.

The volume is excellently printed and beautifully illustrated with portraits of national leaders and photographs of historic spots. It is plentifully equipped with maps, battle diagrams, reproductions of documents and of autographs. Far more than any archive of reference material on national history, the work seems to have been done as a labor of love.

Volume V was written by Ricardo Levene, Daniel Antokoletz, Juan Carlos Bassi, Mario Belgrano, Ricardo R. Caillet-Bois, Juan Canter, Abel Cháneton, André Fugier, Emilio Loza, Diego Luis Molinari, Leopoldo Ornstein, William Spence Robertson, Máximo Soto-Hall, and Benjamín Villegas Basavilbaso.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Washington, D. C.

Simón Bolívar. Ideario Político. Selección y Notas de J. A. y Prólogo de Marius André. (Caracas, Venezuela: Editorial Cecilio Acosta, 1940. Pp. 189. Paper cover. Bs. 5.)

The *Bolivariana*, like the library dealing with any really great personality, keeps on growing larger and larger. The present work is a very welcome addition, although the only new material that it presents is the prologue by the celebrated French author Marius André.

It does do the reader and the student a great service by placing these famous documents in one volume such as this. There is an etching of the Liberator, a copy of the painting by the French artist Roullin made in 1825 at Bogotá.

The book begins with an excerpt from R. Blanco-Fombona in which Bolívar is spoken of as a liberator of Castilian literature. He declares: ". . . Bolívar es en punto a letras, lo más alto en su época en lengua de Castilla. Con Bolívar se realiza la revolución de independencia en las letras castellanas, o para no salir de casa, en letras americanas. . . . Fué también en literatura, el LIBERTADOR." Then there is the foreword by Marius André on *Bolívar Escritor*. André puts Bolívar as a writer among such writers as Julius Caesar and Napoleon Bonaparte. He considers him, in the first place, a great letter writer, for while much has been destroyed, enough remains to enable one to speak of him as a great letter writer. His versatility, choice of subjects, and Castilian style give him a place among really great letter writers. Even greater are his proclamations to his officers and soldiers before and after important battles. Then there are his state papers on a variety of subjects. His writings while in exile are also very good. His letters to José Joaquín de Olmedo show him an intelligent, sympathetic lover of poetry. André concludes with the statement that those who exclude Bolívar from literature "privan a éstas de uno de sus más hermosas florones."

The documents chosen for this volume consist of the *Manifiesto de Cartagena*, *A los Ciudadanos de la Nueva Granada*, *Carta de Jamaica*; and under the heading *Discurso*: the *Angostura Address*, *Un Pensamiento sobre el Congreso de Panamá*, *Invitación para el Congreso de Panamá*, *Discurso del Libertador al Congreso Constituyente de Bolivia*, *Mensaje a la Convención de Cuña*, and the *Mensaje al Constituyente de la República de Colombia en 1830*. There is no need, even if space were available, for any details about the contents of these documents, or of the contents themselves. They are far too well known to the students of Bolívar for that. The appendices contain the letter of Bolívar to Olmedo of June 27, 1825, from Cuzco, and another to Olmedo of July 12, also from Cuzco. There is the *Mi Delirio sobre el Chimborazo*, the *Résumé de la Vida del General Sucre*, written to Sucre from Lima on February 21, 1825, followed by *Máximas y Pensamientos Político-Filosóficos*. This last is printed, however, in smaller type.

The whole book is well printed, on fairly good paper, and bound in paper, as already stated, in fairly good form. One could wish that

we of the United States might get into the habit of wanting books put up in this cheap but very good form. We trust that the beginning that has been made may become general.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

Artigas del Vassalaje a la Revolución. By JESUALDO. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Claridad, 1940. Pp. 575. \$5.00 m/n.)

Correspondencia del General José Artigas al Cabildo de Montevideo (1814-1816). Correspondencia Oficial en Copia. Gobernantes Argentinos, Artigas y Torqués al Cabildo de Montevideo (1814-1816). (Montevideo: Archivo General de la Nación, 1940. Pp. xxxviii, 332.)

The life and times of Artigas continue to be one of the major pre-occupations of the historical scholars of Uruguay. But despite the large number of books on the "Founder of Uruguayan nationality" there still exists an immense amount of archival material as yet imperfectly explored. There also remains the almost equally formidable problem of sifting the wheat from the chaff in the violently partisan biographies produced by Uruguayan, Argentine, and Brazilian writers. In other words this great hero of Spanish-American independence yet awaits a scholarly and objective biography, based on documentary material and buttressed with adequate critical apparatus. It must be admitted that the work under review, despite its lively and interesting style, does not measurably advance our knowledge of Artigas. The chief novelty of the book lies in the apportionment of space. The first part, nearly a hundred pages in length, is entitled *Antecedentes*. It deals largely with the activities in Spain and in the Banda Oriental of Artigas' forebears. The second part, under the caption of *José Artigas: Vaquería, Contrabando y Blandengues*, brings the story up to 1810. The remaining portion of the book is devoted to the revolution and embraces the decade 1810-1820. For reasons which impress the reviewer as unconvincing the author has relegated to a six-page "Epílogo" Artigas' thirty-years sojourn in Paraguay as the guest or prisoner of Francia.

We are informed by the writer that he has read more than a thousand letters and notes of Artigas as well as ten thousand documents dealing with the history of the Platine area. He has appended a formidable bibliography in which the items are listed, however, without date or place of publication. There are numerous illustrations based for the most part on paintings. His mission, the author tells us, is

not that of an investigator; rather does he aim to present his hero in such guise that he will serve as an example and encouragement to his fellow-countrymen. For reasons "foreign to his desire" the author was not able to equip his book with footnotes or other critical apparatus other than the general bibliography already mentioned. We further learn that the work is cast in the "novel" form (*someramenta novelada*). This fact probably accounts for the large number of imaginary conversations. It is the hope of the writer at frequent intervals to publish new editions in which the omissions and errors of the present volume will be avoided.

It is a pity that this book, obviously the fruit of much arduous if hastily performed labor, has so little to offer to the exacting and discriminating student. Even those who are in quest of a romanticized biography of Artigas will probably prefer the brilliant though somewhat antiquated work of the famous critic Juan Zorrilla de San Martín: *La epopeya de Artigas; historia de los tiempos heróicos de la República Oriental del Uruguay*.

The wealth of material on Artigas and his times to be found in the various public and private archives of Uruguay is little by little being made available in printed form. The present volume contains several hundred items extracted from the National Archives in Montevideo. This material includes 316 despatches of Artigas to the Cabildo of Montevideo and copies of a number of miscellaneous letters, chiefly communications to the same Cabildo from officials in Argentina. The period covered embraces the years 1814-1816. Although some of the documents deal with trivial or routine matters, many shed light on conditions in the Platine area during the crucial years in question. Their utility is impaired, however, by the absence of an analytical index.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

Stanford University.

Academic Culture in the Spanish Colonies. By JOHN TATE LANNING. (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. ix, 149. \$1.75.)

This little book discusses certain parts of the intellectual life of the Spanish colonies. The first two chapters are upon the universities: "Transplantation of the scholastic university" and "University life and administration." The third chapter treats of eighteenth-century modernization, especially in philosophy, under the title of "The last

stand of the schoolmen." The last two chapters, concerned with medical knowledge, education and regulation, are called "The preface to modern medicine" and "Public health and the modernization of medical instruction." The earlier history of the universities is better known than the rest, through other men's work, but even on that subject Lanning presents new data and interpretations. The third chapter, which would be sufficiently important as an English language demolition of the *leyenda negra* of Spanish obscurantism, is the first satisfactory treatment in any language, for the Spanish colonies as a whole, of the modernization of thought that took place in the second half of the eighteenth century under the influence of European enlightenment. Though the subject has been treated well in Spanish for a few of the present-day areas, Dr. Lanning improves our knowledge of those regions, adds equally important data for areas previously little studied, and thereby draws a clear picture of the whole. By the end of the colonial era the Aristotelian, authoritarian basis of knowledge had been much shaken, if not destroyed. The intellectual leaders were barely behind Europe and probably not behind Spain, in their acquaintance with new ideas and their acceptance of the "sensationalist" or experimental school of learning. Improvements in medical practice and theory were possibly less striking. But by the later eighteenth century, dissection as a mode of study and teaching, inoculation and vaccination, and Caesarian operations, were commonplace, and many physicians were acquainted with the newer medical treatises of Europe.

The work is based on printed and manuscript documentation of the widest variety. In addition to the more obvious types of sources, the author has used extensively the students' manuscript theses still extant. (Duke University, incidentally, is to be congratulated for its present enterprise of microfilming such materials.) The book under consideration is merely preliminary to its author's future publication of the results of many years research. It might for that reason be unfair to criticize it too severely, but the fact is that one must labor to find even minor flaws. The meaning of "sensationalism" could have been more emphatically and precisely brought out for the average reader, and in view of the leadership of French medicine in the earlier eighteenth century, the apparent failure [*cf.* p. 132-134] to concentrate on French teachings seems to require consideration. The author is too weakly sceptical [p. 65] in mentioning the possible interdependence of authorities for the modernism in Quito by 1736. I do not doubt the modernism, but I much suspect that the references cited, and others that can be cited, would go back to some one statement were

it worth while to trace them. But when a reviewer is reduced to such quibbles, he is wasting his readers' time.

Dr. Lanning's *Academic culture*, in the year since its publication, has become the authority on its subject. It makes one wish eagerly for completion of the study to which it is a forerunner.

ROLAND DENNIS HUSSEY.

University of California,
Los Angeles.

Historia de Cuba en sus Relaciones con los Estados Unidos y España. Tomo III, 1878-1899. By HERMINIO PORTELL VILÁ. [Biblioteca de Historia, Filosofía y Sociología, Vol. 7.] (La Habana: Jesus Montero, 1939. Pp. 563. \$4.00.)

This is the third volume of Dr. Portell Vilá's extensive work on the relations of the United States with Cuba and with Spain in reference to Cuba. It covers the period from the close of the Ten Years' War to the transfer of Cuba to the United States by Spain. The first chapter, "From Zanjón to Baire," briefly relates the events from 1878-1895 (91 pp.). The second, "The End of Spanish Domination," deals with the Cuban Revolution which began with the *Grito de Baire* and the problems involved in connection with it from 1895-1898 (352 pp.). The concluding chapter, "War of the United States in Cuba," carries the story down to January 1, 1899 (88 pp.).

The author employs the same technique in this volume as in its predecessors. Practically everything the United States did was wrong, although some praise is given to certain persons and acts which contributed to the final independence of the Island. In the earlier part of the volume there is less tendency to repeat the criticisms made against the Americans who directed the policies toward Cuba. In the treatment of the war with Spain, the weaknesses and errors of the American Government are portrayed in minute detail, and the opinion is expressed that the United States would have lost the war except for Cuban aid. Repeatedly it is asserted that Cuba could have won its independence alone, that is, of course, if the United States had freely abetted the movement by permitting arms and ammunitions to reach the Revolutionists. The statement is made that the United States was definitely opposed to Cuban independence and conspired with Spain to aid it in retaining control of the Island. Also it is maintained that the ideas of annexation and imperialism were always ruling motives in the minds of most Americans. McKinley and his aides who directed the policies immediately preceding and during the war are portrayed as an inept and unscrupulous crowd.

Some information regarding the Janney loan contract is given, but it is admitted that full data from Cuban sources could not be obtained. Further, there is the intimation that part of these funds was used to secure votes in Congress favorable to the Cuban cause at the time the Teller resolution was passed. After a detailed discussion, without references to the *Congressional Record*, of the debates leading to the passage of this resolution, the author rephrases the essence of his thesis as follows:

In this manner then, we are able to see that the Joint Resolution of the 20th of April 1898, destined to put an end to the bloody Spanish despotism in Cuba and to aid in the establishment of a free people, in respect to which, from time to time they are reproached from the United States for a supposed lack of gratitude, was the object of criticism, contempt, and incomprehension of the American statesmen of the period: Cleveland, Platt, Reid, and many others. What right exists, therefore, to demand from the Cubans that they shall be grateful for a declaration of American international policy which, only because of the tenacity of the *Mambises* in not surrendering their arms without becoming independent and because of the noble sympathy of some citizens of the United States and because of the egotisms and interests of the remainder, did not serve to make them change masters and limited itself to recognize for them their rights, natural to every man, which with heroism they had demanded and reaffirmed during many years of struggle against the Spanish power and against the pro-Spanish neutrality of the United States?

Primary sources utilized in the volume are mostly records of the Department of State, and secondary works, especially certain ones critical of the United States, are depended upon to a greater degree than in the earlier volumes. The book is bilingual in character and has numerous illustrations which add to its value. Dr. Portell Vilá has presented a vivid account of an interesting period of Cuban-American relations.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

The Huancavelica Mercury Mine. A Contribution to the History of the Bourbon Renaissance in the Spanish Empire. By ARTHUR PRESTON WHITAKER. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. xiii, 150. \$2.00.)

This little volume, the result of research in the *Archivo General de Indias*, and in the printed literature both source and secondary, is an outgrowth of an earlier study of the career of Antonio de Ulloa who held the post of governor of Huancavelica for a trying period of six years. Certain inconsistencies—such as Ulloa's early condemnation of the *mita* and his later attitude of tacit approval and “. . . the decline

of the vitally important mine of Huancavelica . . ." coincidentally "with the climax of the Bourbon renaissance, which in Spain and other parts of the empire outside of Peru, produced political reforms and scientific talents that, if applied to Huancavelica, might have saved it . . ."—suggested problems of major importance. This monograph, then, is not a history of the mine, but rather a detailed study of its failure to share in the general advance of the Bourbon period.

In two brief chapters the author sets forth the importance of the mercury mine of Huancavelica to South American mining in general, from its discovery in 1563 to the early years of the eighteenth century. Attempts at reform, along lines suggested by the successful operations at Almadén in Spain, were only partially successful. The story of Ulloa's valiant effort at reform, unsuccessful though it was, due to failure of support at Court in Spain, is detailed most convincingly. As in most other cases of drastic effort at reform in the Indies, the Spanish government included Huancavelica in its great series of 1765 with a threat to discontinue operations. As this was never carried out, the unfortunate visitador-general, José de Areche's well-intentioned attempt to wrest control from the greedy *gremio* of miners, brought an end to the *gremio* system, but disaster to himself and to the mine. The period of government operation, the Nordenflicht mission, the introduction of free enterprise, with a brief period of recovery, all led to ultimate collapse in the years after 1813 to the close of the colonial era. The volume closes with a summary analysis of the factors involved in the unhappy failure of a once great enterprise.

The brochure, the result of solid research which its size belies, should be a stimulating point of departure for a number of similar studies in a neglected field. It has an index, an appendix of documents, a good bibliography, and an excellent series of supporting notes.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

Nuestra América é la Guerra. By MANUEL SEOANE. (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Ercilla, 1940. Pp. 211. \$15.00 m/n.)

Sr. Seoane has charted a course for Latin America through the world chaos. The present war is, he says, a struggle of imperialisms, but since "Hitlerian imperialism appears as the most dangerous and enslaving," Latin America must range herself on the side of the Anglo-Saxon powers. But subject to conditions that will offer the desired guarantees. First comes the unity of Latin America. This is a simple problem—to Sr. Seoane. The Latin Americans are "brothers in the

realm of the spirit—language, race, tradition, sentiment and culture—and brothers also in the world of economy.” After unity comes an inter-continental alliance, also subject to conditions. The United States must first redress the wrongs of the past. For example: the Panama Canal must be given over to Pan-American ownership; the United States must “draw as close as possible to the popular forces” of Latin America; the ills of Puerto Rico, the “anguish of Indo-america,” should be remedied; and United States money should build bases for mutual defense on Latin-American soil. Such bases must remain the property of the country in which located, however, since “any other proposal would offend the sovereign dignity of our republics.”

Certain doubts occur to the reviewer. Is there linguistic unity? Are there mutual traditions in, say, Brazil, Argentina and Haiti? Are not the Caucasians, Negroes, and Indians of Latin America of different races? Where is the compatibility of cultures? Talk of such things is out of place every day in the year except April 14, when we all tuck tongue in cheek and lie, lie, lie. Is there real prospect of Inter-American unity (taking in the United States) so long as we follow the present policy of slithering over all the prickly problems that actually separate us? Is not the unity of the “Western Hemisphere” largely a myth? The present reviewer believes so, and hence disagrees with many of Seoane’s easy assumptions. Advocacy of an integral Pan Americanism is not merely unrealistic; it is dangerous to both the United States and Latin America. Sr. Seoane’s book is well written, entertaining, and on the “popular” side. I am glad I read it and I hope thousands will do so. But if Pan Americanism has no firmer base than here presented it is doomed to failure.

BAILEY W. DIFFIE.

The College of the City of New York.

Africanos no Brasil. Estudos sobre os negros africanos e influencias afro-negras sobre a linguagem e costumes do povo brasileiro. By NELSON DE SENNA. (Bello Horizonte: Officina graphica Queiroz Breyner, ltda., 1940. Pp. 305. Bibliography. 12\$000.)

This work is based on the paper presented by Professor Senna at the *Semana de estudos afro-brasileiros* sponsored by the Instituto historico e geographico de Minas Gerais and the Sociedade mineira de bellas-artes in 1938 in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the *Lei aurea* of May 13, 1888. For bibliographic accuracy, it should be said that though the cover and title-page bear the imprint 1938,

the colophon states that the volume remained in the press for over a year and was published only in 1940.

Though the author mentions several instances of African influence on ways of life and material objects, the center of his book is the evidence presented in the *Semana* on the thesis "*A linguagem dos africanos e a sua influencia na lingua portugueza fallada no Brasil.*" He disagrees with the estimates in various grammars and dictionaries of the number of foreign words in Brazilian Portuguese, especially those of African origin. In support, he adduces several word lists: one of Brazilian words derived from the African; one of hybrid expressions of African and Brazilian origin; and one of Brazilian expressions composed with words of African origin. This last contains only words beginning with the letter A, the rest of the alphabet being reserved, for reasons of want of space in this volume, for publication elsewhere. A fourth list gives adages of African origin or word-content.

The principal defect (not in itself of much importance), as far as most North American readers are concerned, is that much of the evidence is too technical and many of the references too obscure. Such readers, however, should delight in the summary (pp. 175-180) of *Vícios prosódicos*, typical corruptions of Portuguese by the African. Then, some will no doubt think that Professor Senna belabors the point of African influence. While there is little that is new in material or interpretation, aside from philology, most of his argument will be readily conceded. The strength of the book is its abundance of philological material collected over a long period and including regionalisms of Minas that are generally overlooked by the Africanists of the Northeast. Some words that he includes (especially cognates between africanisms and indigenisms) seem doubtful support for his case, but, taken altogether, his word-lists succeed in establishing the fact that the African content of the Brazilian language is larger than many scholars suppose.

ALEXANDER MARCHANT.

The Johns Hopkins University.

Memórias Secretas de D. Carlota Joaquina. By D. JOSÉ PRESAS. Revised, annotated and prefaced translation by R. Magalhães Júnior. [No. 2 of Depoimentos Historicos.] (Rio de Janeiro: Irmãos Pongetti e Zelio Valverde, 1940. Pp. 252. Illus. 15\$000.)

This is a third edition of the work by Dona Carlota Joaquina's private secretary, first published in Bordeaux in 1830, and later in Montevideo in 1858. Copies of earlier issues are now so rare as to make this one welcome to scholars. As Senhor Magalhães Júnior says

in his preface, these *Memórias* "constituem um dos livros mais pitorescos e mais ricamente informativos que se escreverem sobre o período regencial no Brasil" (p. 9). He adds that the book contains much of value, although in many places Presas is unjust to the Princess.

The cause for the secretary's resentment towards Carlota Joaquina is revealed in the heading of chapter 26—"Impunctualidade da princesa em realizar o pagamento de minhas mesadas," and in the itemized bill of charges against her given in his "Conclusão." Despite Presas's obvious prejudice, the editor seems to question whether the various writers who have drawn upon the book examined it with the "prudente reserva" recommended by Oliveira Lima (pp. 9-10).

Barring opposition by her imprisoned brother, Fernando VII, Carlota Joaquina's claim to the Spanish Indies as his heir was not completely fantastic. Her straightened financial condition was long caused by efforts to make good her claim, with which her secretary sympathized. It is interesting in this connection to find that Presas says that he suggested to her that she imitate Isabel the Catholic by devoting her jewels to this purpose, and that this was done (pp. 113-114).

The *Memórias*, which covers twenty years (1808-1828), is devoted largely to the political plotting and planning of the Princess, but her secretary says considerable about Sir Sidney Smith and other British officers, Carlota Joaquina's quarrels with her husband, and other court scandals, her troubles with her children, and her matrimonial plans for them. Prince João's opposition to his wife's schemes involving the Plata was, in the opinion of Presas, caused partly by the desire to avoid public censure (p. 43) as well as by his own and England's political ambitions. Many letters by the Princess are incorporated in the volume, which is certainly neither dry nor sterile. It is well annotated by the editor.

At the end are fourteen hitherto unpublished letters by Dona Carlota Joaquina, apparently written in 1804 or earlier, and two other letters and the manifesto in which she claimed to be her brother's heir, all of which have appeared elsewhere. There is a table of contents, but no index. The work is well printed on good paper and includes several interesting illustrations, mostly portraits.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

Memórias. By CONSELHEIRO FRANCISCO GOMES DA SILVA ("O Chaleça"). Preface and annotations by Noronha Santos. [No. 1 of Depoimentos Historicos.] (Rio de Janeiro: Zelio Valverde e Irmãos Pongetti, 1939. Pp. 240. Illus. 15\$000.)

As the publishers state in their prefatory note, this volume is the first of a proposed series of historical writings dealing with the fundamentals of Brazil's political and social formation. Copies of the original work by Francisco Gomes da Silva, published in London in 1831 as *Memórias offericidas a Nação Brasileira*, are exceedingly rare.

Gomes da Silva, favorite and inseparable companion of Dom Pedro I, came to Brazil with his father in 1808, in connection with the flight of the Portuguese royal family to that colony. He remained in close association with Dom Pedro until the latter's death. He himself died in Lisbon in 1852, at the age of sixty-one. These and other facts are given by Noronha Santos in his carefully documented introduction.

The *Memórias*, which covers the period from the return of João VI to Portugal in 1821 to Dom Pedro's abdication ten years later, deals with all of the leading events of Brazilian history during this time. But the account is highly colored by the fact that Gomes da Silva's main object was to defend himself against the attacks of his enemies. Accordingly, he constantly eulogized the Emperor and bitterly criticized and denounced various Brazilian politicians, especially the Marquez de Barbacena. The book's chief value lies in the fact that in it the unpopular Gomes da Silva speaks for himself.

There are several portraits, a bibliography used by the editor for his introduction, and an index based upon proper names. In an appendix are copies of six documents whereby the Emperor conferred various honors on his favorite. The typographical work is good and the book is printed on superior paper.

MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS.

Goucher College.

D. Pedro IV e D. Miguel I 1826-1834. By CARLOS DE PASSOS. (Pôrto: Livraria Simões Lopes de Domingos Barreira, Editor, 1936. Pp. xii, 426. 25 Escudos.)

The movement which established representative government in Portugal is a challenge to any historian; but the task of him who accepts it is not an easy one. Much water has already flown under the bridges of time, but not enough to wash away all vestiges of the antipathies and ill-will which the liberal struggles brought to the surface. "My brother and I," Dom Miguel once remarked, "were both unfor-

tunate. On his side was intelligence without honor; on mine, honor without intelligence." Out of the confusion of an era, the historian must make a conscious effort to separate fact from emotion and look upon the years that lie between the death of King John VI in 1826 and the capitulations of Évora-Monte in 1834 with the objectivity that they require.

D. Pedro IV e D. Miguel I, the latest work to be added to the vast bibliography on the liberal movement in Portugal, is divided into five long chapters. Chapter I is a critical survey of the period as a whole; Chapter II treats of the years from the death of John VI to the return of Dom Miguel to Lisbon in 1828; the last two chapters carry the story to its *dénouement* in 1834. In these pages, Snr. Passos has not been content to narrate the principal events of the period; he has also endeavored to interpret them. Dom Miguel, he says, merits greater respect than many historians have been willing to pay him. He points out that the majority of the Portuguese people were opposed to Dom Pedro and observes that the benefits of liberalism should have been less painfully introduced. These are the three main theses of the study; and, even though they are not all proved conclusively, the reader must admit that Snr. Passos presents a pertinent array of evidence.

From many points of view, Snr. Passos has written an excellent study. He shows a wide command of the subject; he speaks of its involved national, Brazilian, and European aspects with the required detail. He recaptures much of the embattled atmosphere of an epoch which gave intrigue and ambition a broad field for action. The author has been careful to cite his authorities, both in footnotes and in an extended bibliography. He has likewise been happy in the choice of abundant illustrations, which greatly enhance the reader's interest.

It is to be lamented that a book which has so much in its favor should, in some respects, fall short of what the reader might have reasonably expected. Snr. Passos, for example, never leaves the field of polemics. In his effort to justify Dom Miguel, he presents a clever case against Dom Pedro. This approach often defeats the author's purpose. If the rehabilitation of Dom Miguel is to be done at all, it must be done positively; to assume the goodness of the latter by dwelling on the perfidy of Dom Pedro will hardly convince the unbiased reader. In the second place, Snr. Passos devotes a great part of his book to details of military interest to explain how Dom Miguel, had he had better generals, might have won. The victories of the liberals become reduced to more modest dimensions; but an overdose of military information is tedious and, at times, confusing. Thirdly, the

tone of the work is injured by the author's prodigious use of adjectives. A lesser exuberance of style would have done more for Dom Miguel than Snr. Passos imagines. Finally, the order of chapters might have been improved had the opening chapter been placed, instead, at the end of the book. This would have been especially useful to the uninitiated reader.

Although the value of the present work cannot be denied, the reviewer feels that the author missed a golden opportunity of reaching a greater perfection which was easily within his grasp. The history of the period no longer requires the force of argument or the defense of an advocate; it needs, above all, a great detachment and a cool judgment. Perhaps Snr. Passos, with his intimate knowledge of the subject, will some day find it possible to write the impartial history which the liberal struggle in Portugal deserves.

MANOEL S. CARDOZO.

The Catholic University of America.

Falam os escritores. . . . By SILVEIRA PEIXOTO. (São Paulo: Edições cultura brasileira s/a, 1940. Pp. 292. 10\$000.)

We have here a collection of sketches on twenty writers prepared during 1939 for a Brazilian magazine called *Vamos ler!* which is a reader's guide with popular appeal. All the writers interviewed are Brazilian except two: Fidelino de Figueiredo, a Portuguese, and Paul Vanorden Shaw, an American citizen born in Brazil. Most of them are poets and fiction writers. The style is, of course, journalistic, well adapted to the reading public for whom the sketches were prepared. We are assured of the accuracy of the information contained in them by the declaration of the author in his preface addressed to the reader that each sketch was read and approved by the writer to whom it refers before publication.

To the American reader interested in Brazilian letters this book offers valuable biographical information, even if such information is neither systematized nor exhaustive. The book should be also of some value to the bibliographer and librarian. Birth dates are included of most of the writers interviewed. Also the titles and, in many cases, dates of publication of the principal works of those writers, who are: Monteiro Lobato, Guilherme de Almeida, Alcantara Machado, Fidelino de Figueiredo, Plinio Salgado, Menotti Del Picchia, Paul Vanorden Shaw, Affonso de E. Taunay, Sud Menucci, Affonso Schmidt, Valdomiro Silveira, Belmonte, Rubens do Amaral, Léo Vaz, Cornelio Pires,

Othoniel Motta, Galeão Coutinho, Procopio Ferreira, Origenes Lessa, and Amadeu Amaral.

RAUL D'EÇA.

The George Washington University.

Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda: Tratado sobre las justas causas de la guerra contra los indios. Con una advertencia de Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo y un Estudio por Manuel García-Pelayo. Segunda edición bilingüe latina y española. (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1941. Pp. x, 179. \$5.00 m/n; \$1.00 U. S. cy.)

At a time when much of the world is at war, it is sobering to turn back to the first great modern war on an international scale—the Spanish conquest of America. The republication by that intelligent and active Mexican publishing house, the Fondo de Cultura Económica, of Sepúlveda's treatise on the justice of war against the Indians reminds us that war in the sixteenth century had to be justified on moral or philosophical grounds. Sepúlveda founded Spain's right to subdue the Indians on the Aristotelian argument that certain human beings are slaves by nature. Bartolomé de Las Casas, his most prominent opponent, used Christian principles to support the position that all human beings are children of God and therefore war may be waged against them only under certain special conditions.

The introduction by Manuel García-Pelayo to this volume does not provide a wholly adequate background for an understanding of the great combat between Sepúlveda and Las Casas. It is an almost exclusively legalistic treatment with little attention to the events in the new world which gave rise to the theoretical problems. Sepúlveda was not an abstract thinker isolated in an ivory tower, and the theoretical problems agitated to some extent all classes of the people in Spain and in America. Just as Las Casas had his earnest supporters so did Sepúlveda receive aid and comfort from *Conquistadores*. In one instance, the town council of Mexico sent him gold jewelry and other valuable presents to "animate him against their common enemy." Until the whole background is presented, and until the many other treatise writers are studied, the whole truth of this remarkable aspect of the Spanish conquest will not be revealed. The appearance of this volume, however, and the announcement that the Fondo de Cultura Económica will soon present the hitherto unpublished treatises by Palacios Rubios (*De Insulis*) and by Las Casas (*De Unico Modo Vocationis*) are welcome indications of a growing interest in these fundamental problems. Another evidence is the publication of a selection of

the ideas of Las Casas by the University of Mexico.¹ Incidentally it is worthy of note that there have appeared in Franco-Spain selections from the writings of Sepúlveda.²

LEWIS HANKE.

The Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress.

Potosí Colonial: Guía Histórica, Geográfica, Política, Civil y Legal del Gobierno é Intendencia de la Provincia de Potosí. By PEDRO VICENTE CAÑETE Y DOMÍNGUEZ. (La Paz: Biblioteca Bolivia, 1939. Pp. 207. Paper cover.)

This work is No. 5 in the series of publications by the Biblioteca Bolivia, under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, in the division of Bellas Artes y Asuntos Indígenas. It is another evidence of the very good services which the Biblioteca Bolivia renders the student of the history of Bolivia.

The *prólogo*, written by Gustavo Adolfo Otero, is a character sketch of the author, Pedro Vicente Cañete y Domínguez, of some thirty pages. It bears the date of December 1, 1939, at La Paz. The biographer finds that Cañete was one of the celebrities of his day, a gallant of the Beau Brummel type. Cañete was born in Asunción late in 1751, and of an important family of that city. Like the men of *criollo* class he went away from his native city to complete his education. Many of these went to Spain to study at either Madrid or Salamanca. But many of the others were satisfied with the Indies. Since he was of Asunción, he went to Chile to study in Santiago at the Universidad de San Felipe. He gave much time to a study of the economic conditions of the Indies, especially to industry and finance. At the age of 25 he became General Assessor and Auditor General of War to Pedro Zeballos, first viceroy of Buenos Aires. Later he served in a like capacity with the governor of Asunción. Then he came to Potosí to serve the governor intendent there as General Assessor. And in 1804 he came to Chuquisaca to serve Ramón García Pizarro, President of the Audiencia de Charcas, remaining with Pizarro until the overthrow of the colonial régime on May 25, 1809. He was one of those who remained loyal to his king and labored for the restoration of the rule of Pizarro. In 1814 he was back in Chuquisaca as Director

¹ *Fray Bartolomé de Las Casas. Doctrina.* Prólogo y selección de Agustín Yáñez. Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario, No. 22. Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma. Mexico, 1941. Pp. 176.

² *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda.* Selección, traducción y prólogo de Carlos Alonso de Real. Breviarios del Pensamiento Español. Ediciones Fe. Madrid, 1941. Pp. 253.

of the Academia Carolina. Cañete was one of the men of distinction of the *últimos días coloniales*: a man of the world, with a charming personality, a love of *camaraderie*, versatile, and intellectually brilliant. Even in the brilliant society of Chuquisaca he was an outstanding and commanding figure. Otero declares that he is an excellent example of the men who took part in the social and political crisis of

Alto Peru, porque en su persona, en sus ideas y en sus escritos se ha petrificado la marea vivaz, que recogía las aguas rumorosas de los estuarios de un mundo hispano que declina y la corriente vital de una atmósfera de autoctonías que nace. . . . ¿Quién es aquel varón de elegancias precisas, de casacas y chupas de terciopelo, de corbata de seda y flecaduras de plata, calzón de paño, sombrero de tres picos y zapatos con hebillas argentinas? . . . Es don Pedro Vicente Cañete y Domínguez, Ministro honorario de la Real Audiencia y su Asesor, personaje eminente que acaba de llegar a la ciudad de Chuquisaca.

Cañete was a rather prolific writer. In addition to the one here under consideration, the following writings have also been found:

Carta Consultativa Apologética en defensa del Virrey Liniers contra los cargos de la Junta Americana, El Clamor de la Lealtad Americana en defensa del Consejo de la Regencia contra los actos revolucionarios de la Junta de Buenos Aires, Dictamen a pedimento del Virrey don Baltazar Hidalgo de Cisneros sobre el plan que se debería seguir para atajar y reprimir la revolución, La Carta Consultativa sobre la Obligación que tienen los eclesiásticos de denunciar a los traidores en el confesionario y púlpito su descubrimiento y captura, El Espectáculo de la Verdad, Proscripciones, Ensayo sobre la conducta del General Bolívar, Discurso Histórico Cronológico sobre la Fundación de Buenos Aires, and Historia de Potosí.

Throughout the work on *Potosí Colonial* runs a thread of the personal, for the work is autobiographical. Cañete is under a great urge to write so as to enhance the greatness of Potosí. Yet he does not hesitate to point out mistakes in its administration. He naturally gives much space to a discussion of mining operations, showing advantages and defects, and suggesting improvements. He deals in considerable detail with the history, the nature, the work, and the personnel of the Casa de Moneda of Potosí, in which he also gives a history of money in the colony. He also gives much space to the founding of Potosí, and then of the Royal Bank of San Carlos of Potosí, and its place in the colonial system. The book carries conviction, is written in a very interesting style, and has little of that grandiloquence which so often characterizes the writings of less well informed writers. On the whole it is distinctly conservative, as one would expect from a *caballero* of that age who owed so much to his king and the king's servants with whom he serves. The Government of Bolivia is to be heartily commended upon this constructive work through the Ministry

of Education. It is to be hoped that this is but the beginning of even greater undertakings in the field of the history of that mediterranean land.

N. ANDREW N. CLEVEN.

University of Pittsburgh.

The Longhorns. By J. FRANK DOBIE. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1941. Pp. xxiii, 388. \$3.50.)

"The first civilized man to plant his feet on, and draw sustenance from the soil of Texas (1528) bore prophetically the name of Cabeza de Vaca," writes Frank Dobie. Then he tells the story of the Longhorns that followed the trails marked by the white man.

Tall, bony, coarse-headed, coarse-haired, flat-sided, thin-flanked, some of them grotesquely narrow-hipped, some with bodies so long that their backs swayed, big ears carved into outlandish designs, dewlaps hanging and swinging in rhythm with their energetic steps, their motley-colored sides as bold with brands as a relief map of the Grand Canyon—mightily antlered, wild-eyed, this herd of full-grown Texas steers might appear to a stranger seeing them for the first time as a parody of their kind. But however they appeared, with their steel hoofs, their long legs, their staglike muscles, their thick skins, their powerful horns, they could walk the roughest ground, cross the widest deserts, climb the highest mountains, swim the widest rivers, fight off the fiercest bands of wolves, endure hunger, cold, thirst and punishment as few beasts of the earth have ever shown themselves capable of enduring. On the prairies they could run like antelopes; in the thickets of thorn and tangle they could break their way with the agility of panthers. They could rustle in drouth or snow, smell out pasturage leagues away, live—without talking about the matter—like true captains of their own souls and bodies.

They were the cow brutes for the open range, the cattle of the hour. They suited the wide, untamed land and the men that ranged it. Although of Spanish origin, they were marked by Texas suns, magnified by Texas grasses and scarred by Texas brush. The Mexican cattle that they came from and resembled were long-horned, but Longhorn as a generic name seems not to have been much used until after the Civil War. By then, they had assumed distinct characteristics and had entered upon a history entitling them to be called a "breed," in the strictest sense of that word, even though not one of all their progenitors ever had his name enrolled in a herd book or his ears tagged with a brass number. Had they been registered and regulated, restrained and provided for by man, they would not have been what they were.

But this book is far more than any mere history of a breed of cattle. It contains the loving biography of many a notable cow; it tells many a tall tale of Texan life, and gives many a description of the Southwest. It is more a collection of anecdotes than a history.

"Always in any group of animals, whether men or beasts, certain individuals emerge." Famous among such Longhorn individualists was Old Blue. In fact, he was among the best-known characters in the

whole Southwest. Powerful, sober and steady, he understood the least motion of the point men and proved his worth as professional herd leader. He was given a bell, with green stain and red label fresh upon the brass. The collar was clean and shiny and had the wholesome smell of fresh leather. And Blue was proud of his bell, which the steers soon learned to follow. Frank Dobie then tells the life, character, and miracles of the famous bell-ox of the South, whose horns still are kept to grace a little local museum.

But not all of Frank Dobie's cows were such noble characters. He tells how in nearly any herd of grown cattle a professional agitator was likely to show up, usually with one or more *compañeros*. They spent most of their time looking for some pretext to stampede. They were usually slab-sided and brainless. They would prowl at night when all decent animals were in bed, sometimes hooking sleeping cattle up either to get them agitated or to take their warm places on the ground. A real cowman would spot these troublemakers after a few runs and get rid of them.

Besides its collection of biographies, this book contains notable descriptions. Among the best are those of the stampede or of the storm which often occasioned it. The author tells of the play of lightning on a sea of wet horns and of the little fire-balls on a horse's ears.

These little fire-balls is all I can see of my hoss, an' they tell me he's listenin' always; his ears are never still. I tell you, there's something mighty ghostly about sittin' up on a hoss you can't see, with them two little blue sparks out in front of you wigglin' an' movin' like a pair of spook-eyes, an' it shows me the old night hoss is usin' his listeners plenty.

One way of preventing a stampede was to sing to the cattle.

Singing, whistling, chanting, humming seemed to have a soothing effect on the toughest old Longhorns. Most of all, the sounds prevented any sudden noise from startling the cattle. Nearly all the old authentic cowboy tunes were slow as a horse walks around sleeping cattle at night, and the majority of them were mournful. So the men sang "Dan Tucker," or "My Lulu Gal"; but also they sang "Nearer my God to Thee," "The Old Time Religion," "In the Sweet By and By." "Old Hundred" was reputed to have one of the most soothing effects on wild cattle on the run and in general it was felt that those old, slow, mournful tunes made Christians out of many a herd of devil-hardened steers.

One way to control a stampede really started, was for a few men who knew cow psychology and who felt in themselves a power over cattle, to ride in front, quavering out "The Texas Lullaby" and gradually to get the cattle to feel that the men and their horses were the leaders, the dominators of the run. But it took born cowmen to do this.

Other descriptions tell of cattle on the trail; of cattle in the brush; and of old outlaw steers that refused to give up their freedom.

To understand any element of the brush country, the literary conception of a cowboy riding so free and careless over the plains must be forgotten. One time, an old story goes, a top hand from the prairie country joined a brush outfit on a cow hunt. He was all eagerness to rope something and was given his chance. When he came back he was minus some of his clothes and a great deal of skin. "Why, I thought you wanted to rope something," exclaimed the boss. "Well, I'll tell you," replied the prairie hand. "I saw that speckled steer when we jumped him and I took after him. But the farther we went, the thicker the brush seemed to get. Finally, I met one of your seven-foot rattlesnakes backing out. When the brush got so thick that a rattlesnake had to back out of it, I thought I'd just as well back out too."

The book is plentifully and beautifully illustrated; it is equipped with excellent bibliographical notes and an index. It makes good reading.

MADALINE W. NICHOLS.

Washington, D. C.

Sixty Years of Indian Affairs, Political, Economic and Diplomatic, 1789-1850. By GEORGE DEWEY HARMON. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. viii, 428. Bibliography. \$5.00.)

This reviewer has endeavored to learn from a reading of the whole book just what Professor Harmon is driving at, and what he has accomplished. He undertakes to prepare the reader by saying that "the purpose of this study is to examine the many phases of the federal Indian policy in their financial, political and diplomatic significance," but the result is not nearly so all-inclusive. He warns the reader not to expect to be entertained by romantic, adventurous history—ominous of what is in store for him. He divides his work into three parts, which he has designated as: "I, The Formative Period, 1789-1825"; "II, The Coercive Period, 1825-1850"; "III, The Federal Government as the Guardian of the Indian."

The book opens with a brief treatment of early Indian administration touching various tribes, including an excellent, though necessarily abridged, discussion of the factory system among the Indians. Each of the three sections of the book is divided into chapters: The first into 13, the second into 8, and the third into 3. Four chapters of the first division and six in the second all bear the title of "Federal, Financial and Economic Policy" touching the tribes there discussed; and it is under these heads that the author assembles most of the information contained in the book, which is presented in the main in a tedious extraction from treaties bearing on the subject of the obligations assumed by the government towards different Indian tribes. He treats

the subject as if the promises in the treaties were all that he or his readers are interested in; and he has not considered it within the scope of his work to go beyond this point and discuss the execution of treaty obligations assumed by the government, or the train of historical events that flowed from them. Two notable exceptions to this statement, however, appear in discussion of the Creeks and Choctaws. His indignation justly aroused by the infamous frauds perpetrated upon the Creeks in Alabama and the Choctaws in Mississippi by soulless white people, he has presented an adequate and convincing picture of these outrages.

Historically the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes are seen as a group with similar problems and administrative obligations. No reason is assigned for discussing only the Cherokees, Creeks and Choctaws, and omitting altogether Indian administration as applied to the Seminoles and Chickasaws. The reason for some of the contextual arrangement of the material in the book is far from obvious. The reader is left to discover, if he can, the significance of the inclusion of some of the material and exclusion of other matter.

While at times the author endeavors to give the impression of having a deeper knowledge of his subject than he reveals for the information of his readers, at other times he indicates but a superficial insight into the field he covers. This is illustrated on page 133, where he states that "the Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi tribes were united in 1846, and thus became the Pottawatomi Nation." This glaring error suggests a confused knowledge of the treaty made that year with certain bands of Chippewa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi Indians who had long been confederated. The treaty he refers to was made primarily to unite two segments of what was then called the Pottawatomi tribe—one recently removed to Iowa and the other to eastern Kansas. This treaty had no application whatever to the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes still living and maintaining their tribal integrity in their homes east of the Mississippi River.

The best feature of this book is not its treatment of Indian administration, but the extensive bibliography of 32 pages which is calculated to afford the student valid information about the sources for the study of Indian history. A more scholarly work, *Federal Indian Relations 1774-1788* by Walter H. Mohr, published in 1933, occupies the same field for an earlier period, integrating with the present work, yet barely noticed by it.

In a candid review of the book, a few of the many errors cannot pass unnoticed: Referring to the Choctaw treaty of 1820, the author says, on page 154, that its execution "was so slow that a supplemental

agreement was negotiated by John C. Calhoun in Washington in 1825." Quite erroneous. The reason for the treaty of 1825 was that the former treaty gave the Choctaw Indians a large tract of land extending over into Arkansas then occupied by white people, who protested so loudly to Washington that steps were taken to correct this mistake by another treaty in which the Indians relinquished claim to the land so possessed by the whites. Section one of the treaty assigns that situation as the reason for making another.

Referring to the education and civilization of the Cherokee Indians, the author says, on page 152, "All this progress in civilization and in economic development came to naught, as we shall see in subsequent chapters," a dogmatism not likely to be accepted by anyone familiar with Cherokee history. On page 130 in note 48, the author moves Fort Clark from the Missouri River to the Osage, with a branch on the "Marie Decine" (Marais des Cygnes). Four mistakes in copying occur on page 206; others on pages 111 and 285; mistakes in spelling on 95 and 96. On page 321, land was to "insure" to the Choctaws, instead of "inure," and one reads on page 153, that the Choctaw treaty of 1820 provided that certain lands were to be distributed equally "between each individual" of the tribe. Frequent and unaccountable use of "vendition" in place of the quite adequate "sale" enhances neither the scholarship nor the style of the work.

Throughout most of the work there is a smoothness of diction that makes for ease of reading and mitigates somewhat the dullness of the book. In the judgment of this reviewer, the work is inconclusive, not well organized and does not fulfill the promise of the author, in spite of the prodigious industry displayed by him. He has made an excellent index of the book, which is beautiful and designed in the best tradition of University Press work.

GRANT FOREMAN.

Muskogee, Oklahoma.

A Pathfinder in the Southwest. By GRANT FOREMAN. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. Pp. xvi, 298. \$3.00.)

Railroads were an experiment in the decade of the 1830's, but they soon proved very successful, and a feverish rush toward construction of new lines followed. Lines were planned which would link not only the interior of the country in a vast network of roads but which would connect it with the chief ports on the Atlantic coast.

The Mexican War provided a great stimulus to this railroad urge, for by the peace terms we obtained possession of an enormous tract of territory, extending from Texas to California.

Almost before the ink on the treaty was dry, gold was discovered in California, the gold rush followed, and millions of dollars were added to the circulating medium of the country. This made people conscious of the fact that nearly half a continent had been added to the national domain, a region of such vast resources that no one could foresee the limits of future development, and suddenly the nation became convinced that a railroad linking the East and the West was an absolute necessity. Congress, in response to this demand, passed an act, in 1853, providing for a survey of several lines from the Mississippi to the Pacific.

One of these surveys was to be along the thirty-fifth parallel. Instead of starting at St. Louis, Memphis, or Vicksburg, the frontier town of Little Rock was made the point of departure, perhaps to avoid the jealousies of the cities on the Mississippi. The reconnaissance was carried out by a group of scientists and engineers headed by Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, of the Corps of Topographical Engineers. Their field work commenced at Little Rock on July 14, 1853, and was completed on March 21, 1854, at Los Angeles, whence Lieutenant Whipple and other officers proceeded to Washington to complete their final reports. These were published by the government, in view of the widespread interest in the West, first in a brief summary of the achievements of the party, and later in four larger parts. Part I consisted of Whipple's "itinerary," Part II of his "Report on the Topographical Features and Character of the Country," Part III of a "Report upon the Indian Tribes," by Whipple and others, and Part IV of a "Report on the Geology of the Route," prepared by W. P. Blake on the basis of Jules Marcou's field notes.

This volume, *A Pathfinder in the West*, edited and annotated by Grant Foreman, is the sixth volume of the University of Oklahoma's "Exploration and Travel Series." The book consists of Whipple's "Itinerary," together with an introduction and some explanatory notes by Mr. Foreman. This reprint does not include all the original illustrations and a few pages of technical description by Whipple have also been deleted.

The volume is nicely printed, the introduction is illuminating, and the notes helpful. The reader who seeks specific identification of the survey route, in New Mexico, for example, will not always be satisfied, but perhaps the reprinting of this valuable document may lead someone to undertake this task.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND.

The University of New Mexico.

Texan Statecraft, 1836-1845. By JOSEPH W. SCHMITZ. (San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1941. Pp. x, 266. \$2.75.)

Professor Schmitz, in his preface, states that his book is not intended to be definitive, but that it is intended "to give a comprehensive account of the efforts made by Texas to establish itself as a member of the family of nations." Diplomatic activities engaged in by other countries to further their own ends are omitted. The author is to be commended for thus voluntarily limiting his narrative, for the average reader who desires a clear picture of the foreign relations of Texas will prefer to have it thus, and those who care to delve deeper into the maze of diplomatic negotiation and intrigue over Texas may consult the books and articles listed in the carefully prepared bibliography.

Chapter one gives the necessary background, covering as it does the settlement of Texas by Anglo-Americans, the separation from Mexico, and the establishment of the Republic of Texas. The succeeding eleven chapters hold strictly to the author's intention as announced in the preface, and the reviewer feels that Professor Schmitz has attained his objective which is "to tell what the Texans wanted, how they set about getting it, and to what extent they succeeded or failed." His grasp of detail and the orderly presentation of material indicate careful research and study. The interest of the reader is sustained as he follows the efforts of Texas to secure recognition from the United States and then to have itself annexed; the negotiation of treaties with France, Holland, and Great Britain; the three efforts to end the war with Mexico by diplomacy; the alliance with Yucatán when these attempts failed; the proposed triple intervention by France, Great Britain and the United States; the negotiations with Belgium and the Hanseatic cities; and, finally, the annexation of Texas to the United States. Each chapter makes stimulating reading; the flow of the narrative is smooth, and one gets the impression of a large subject adequately treated. The proofreading is excellent and the type and format are very attractive. The book is a welcome addition to the historical literature pertaining to the Southwest.

C. T. NEU.

The East Texas State Teachers College.

Henry de Tonty: Fur Trader of the Mississippi. By EDMUND ROBERT MURPHY. [Publications of the Institut Français de Washington.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1941. Pp. xix, 129. Frontispiece, maps, illustrations, appendix and bibliography. \$2.00.)

This little volume is an attempt to assemble in convenient form all available information on the activities of Henry de Tonty in the development of the fur trade in the Mississippi Valley. The study opens with a brief sketch of Tonty's background and career in Europe prior to his arrival in Canada in company with La Salle in 1678. Tonty's work as chief lieutenant of La Salle in the Illinois country and on the voyage to the mouth of the Mississippi, his attempt to coöperate with his patron in planting a colony at the river's mouth, and his efforts to succor the French colony in Texas after La Salle's death are all treated in some detail. But the most important part of the volume is that dealing with Tonty's fur-trading ventures following the death of La Salle. This work of Tonty served to keep alive French interest in the lower Mississippi Valley until Iberville and Bienville planted the first permanent French colony on the Gulf Coast, thus completing the line of French posts connecting the lower Mississippi with Canada before the date of Tonty's death (1704).

The author appears to have made a diligent search for all pertinent source materials, both printed and manuscript, bearing upon the topic in hand, and he has handled his subject in such a manner as to develop a rather complete picture of this hitherto neglected phase of Tonty's career. The reviewer experienced some difficulty at times in following the chronology, but on the whole the volume is well organized.

The work is well documented. There are several useful maps and illustrations, and several important sources not readily available elsewhere are printed in the appendix. The bibliography is extensive and the index adequate. There are a few minor slips in proofreading and some inconsistencies in the citation of sources in the footnotes, but these do not seriously mar the work. The printers have done an excellent job and have produced an attractive volume.

Students of the French regime in the Mississippi Valley or of the development of the American fur trade cannot afford to neglect this valuable addition to the printed works on these important subjects.

WALTER PRICHARD.

Louisiana State University.

José Toribio Medina. His Life and Works. By SARAH ELIZABETH ROBERTS. [Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association. Publications. Series I. Volume 6.] (Washington, D. C.: Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, 1941. Pp. 192.)

This book is a valuable contribution to the ever-growing list of important Hispanic-Americana. Its objectives are "to give some accurate conceptions of the achievements of the Chilean scholar" and "a much-needed English summary of the highlights of Medina's life and writings." In these aims the author has achieved, on the whole, a high degree of success.

The text proper occupies some seventy-six pages. After a brief summary of Medina's ancestral background, his personal career is narrated. The titles of the early chapters tell the story: "The Student"; "The Lawyer and Scientist"; "The Diplomat, Literary Critic, and Judge"; "The Secretary of Legation"; "The Matured Historian." A second group of chapters covers the later period: "The Exile"; "The Traveler"; "The Honored Scholar." Three final chapters, "The Character of a Scholar," "The Works of Medina," and "The Evaluation of the Man and his Works," are a summing-up. The second of these is perhaps the most valuable of all; primarily descriptive in nature, it conveniently categorizes Medina's many works in nineteen groups. The page and a half chapter of evaluation, an excellent piece of synthesis, closes the textual portion of the book.

As appendices to the main work, the author includes, in addition to a selected bibliography of material on Medina, a title and a subject bibliography of his works and an author bibliography of works edited or translated by him. These cover 102 pages—a third more space than is allotted to the text itself. The great value of these compilations is self-evident and need not be dwelt upon. As to their accuracy in detail, however, there is ample ground for reasonable doubt, certainly if Miss Roberts has approached the compilation of all her data with the same naïveté displayed in the title bibliography. This bibliography, accompanied in a number of instances by as much as a dozen lines of invaluable descriptive annotation to a single title, carries also "a partial list of the libraries in the United States which contain the particular work of Medina which they follow. The Union Catalogue has been used as the basis of these lists." Inasmuch, however, as the Union Catalogue makes no pretence of indicating the locations of the titles it indexes, Miss Roberts immediately gets herself into deep water, and so, too, would any scholar accepting her list as anything like complete. Thus, she credits the University of California Libraries with having—aside from periodical articles—but twenty-six Medina

titles, two of them in part only. The card catalog of the University of California Libraries, however, indexes the two last mentioned as complete, and gives fifty-six other titles! And, to the positive knowledge of the present reviewer, only one of these fifty-six is a recent acquisition.

The reviewer has made no effort to check the detailed accuracy of the entries themselves. Nevertheless, two errors catch his attention offhand: The *Colección de historiadores . . . de Chile* is in forty-six volumes, not forty-five, and no indication is given that Medina's *Expedición de corso del comodoro Guillermo Brown . . .* is one of the *Publicaciones* of the Instituto de Investigaciones Históricas of the University of Buenos Aires.

LEWIS W. BEALER.

Berkeley, California.

BOOK NOTICES

Guía del Archivo Histórico de Hacienda: siglos XVI a XIX. (Mexico: Secretaría de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 1940. \$50.00 m/n.)

This guide is a classified inventory of selected documents from the old Archivo de Real Hacienda, now deposited in the Archivo General de la Nación. Care for detail characterizes the descriptions of hundreds of *legajos*, and subject classifications are furnished for even the briefest *expedientes*. Recent experience prompts me to report that one may now work in this section of the Archives with a minimum of delay and uncertainty.

The material covers a wide range of topics: in addition to records primarily of interest to economic historians there are numerous documents listed under "Cuarteles," "Diversiones Públicas," "Justicia Eclesiástica," and "Temporalidades," which should be useful for religious and social history. A section on "Pasaportes" is now in press.

The introduction promises that the *Guía* "se irá publicando en hojas sueltas," and it appears that the 260 *hojas* available represent only a small part of the archives. As the inventory work progresses, new entries are made for several classifications. Hence, bound volumes of the guide will wait upon the arrangement of all the papers on a given subject. This will almost certainly be a matter of years; but not as many as would be consumed by a less able archivist than Sr. Agustín Hernández, the technical director of the project.

ROBERT SIDNEY SMITH.

Duke University.

Brazil 1939-40. An Economic, Social and Geographic Survey. (Rio de Janeiro: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1940. Pp. 383.)

In the foreword to this volume, Dr. Aranha points out that economic development depends upon having the fullest possible knowledge of the existing economic situation and of the resources on which future advances are to be built. The profound dislocations occasioned by the war make especially valuable an appraisal of the nation's economic structure, its weaknesses and its strong points.

In *Brazil 1939-40* a successful effort has been made to present such a picture, which is necessarily very broad in scope. Assisted by a competent corps of experts, José Jobim has edited a volume which

is more than a methodical presentation of statistics industry by industry, more than a mere listing of the geographic, social and economic factors that make up the current Brazilian scene. There is a definite effort to appraise and interpret rather than to be limited to a factual survey.

There are sections on climate and soil, area and population, immigration, education and culture, social legislation, and public health. A detailed treatment of agricultural, pastoral, mineral and manufacturing industries is included, as well as chapters on finance and transportation. Although the latter chapters might have been expanded considerably, such a broad study must necessarily accept certain space limitations. In the closing sections of the book there is a discussion of geo-economic regions. There is also a folio of excellent photographs ranging from coffee cultivation to the steel works of Minas Gerais and the Parade of Youth.

Readers in the United States, especially those who are just beginning their study of the economic problems of the other American republics, should take delight in this excellent introduction to the Brazilian economy.

As an analysis of Brazil's economic capacity must inevitably do, this volume leaves the reader with a challenging impression of the magnitude of her economic potential. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has performed a very useful service in making *Brazil 1939-40* available in English.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

Diario de Campaña del Mayor General Máximo Gómez. (Havana: Ministerio de Educación, Sección de Cultura, 1940. Pp. xxiv + 623. Gratis.)

Diario de José Martí: De Cabo Hatiano dos Ríos. (Havana: Imprenta Escuela del Instituto Cívico Militar, 1941. Pp. 93.)

Martí: Místico del Deber. By FÉLIX LIZASO. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, S. A., 1940. Pp. 330. \$4.50 m/n.)

The volumes listed above are a contribution to the literature dealing with the organized efforts of the Cuban patriots to attain their political independence from Spain. *Diario de Campaña del Mayor General Máximo Gómez* covers the various activities of the Cuban army during the "Ten Years' War" (1868-1878), the insurrection of 1895-1898, and the years that intervened between these revolts. The materials incorporated in the volume are from the archives of Gómez

and include, in addition to the diary, the diary of Martí (pages 289-325) and, in the Appendices (pages 453-571), a number of papers and documents significantly related to the military and political movements in Cuba between 1868 and 1898. There is an elaborate map depicting the travels of General Gómez. These are further detailed in a chronological-geographical outline at the end of the volume, where there also appear some forty illustrations relating to the life of the great *generalísimo*.

Diario de Martí: De Cabo Hatiano dos Ríos spans the brief period (April 9-May 17, 1895) which marked the final rôle played by Martí in the revolt for Cuban liberation as successfully launched by him on February 24 of that year. Being a reprint, in pamphlet form, of the diary as printed in *Diario de Campaña del Mayor General Máximo Gómez* (noted above), it contains a brief biographical sketch of Martí by the distinguished historian, Gerardo Castellanos G., a portrait of the hero, facsimiles of typical pages from the original manuscript of the diary, a bibliography of sources relating to Martí, and a select list of the maestro's maxims. It is a document of value for a definitive biography of the chief propagandist for Cuban independence. The latter, as Martí fully realized, depended upon aid from abroad, particularly from the United States.

Félix Lizaso's *Martí, Místico del Deber*, though not definitive, is a worth-while essay on Martí's significant relation to Cuban independence and literature. Although undocumented in the ordinary sense of the word, it is obviously based on sound research. There is a prologue and a useful calendar of events in Martí's life (1853-1895) to guide the reader through the various epochs treated by the author. These are: "Años de Formación," "Años de Destierro," "Años de Peregrinación," "Años de Forja," "Años Decisivos."

The volumes here noted, when taken together with the official correspondence of the New York *Junta* (1895-1898), make available to scholars valuable materials for a more authentic history of the final movement for Cuban independence.

GEORGE W. AUXIER.

Department of State.

Orientaciones Americanas. By ALEJANDRO RIVAS VÁZQUEZ. (Caracas: Editorial Cecilio Acosta, 1941. Pp. 280. Bs. 8.)

Doctor Alejandro Rivas Vázquez, a brilliant and prominent young attorney and member of the cabinet, placed himself in opposition to the political philosophy and administrative practices of the Venezue-

lan dictator, General Juan Vicente Gómez, soon after the latter came into power. As a result he spent many years in exile in Costa Rica, Cuba, and the United States. A master of the Spanish language and a fluent orator, he delivered many addresses on political philosophy, inter-American relations, and legal education. He dealt with the situations particularly in Venezuela, Mexico, Costa Rica, and the United States, and treated world conditions arising at the close of the first World War. He considered Pan-Americanism and the Monroe Doctrine. This little volume with a preface by J. A. Cova includes fifteen addresses, three articles and four letters which Doctor Rivas Vázquez wrote during the years from 1912 to 1919. It is illustrative of the political thought of the Venezuelan exiles of the second decade of the twentieth century.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Límites Argentinos (La Tierra y el Hombre). By FRANCISCO SUÁITER MARTÍNEZ. (Buenos Aires: Instituto Cultural Joaquín V. González. 1939. Pp. 282. \$3.00 m/n.)

In *Límites Argentinos*, Francisco Suáiter Martínez offers a group of essays more notable for their readability than for their originality of content. He sketches, first, certain symbols of American life—the Pacific, the hills and mountains, the Rio de la Plata, the Pampa, the Atlantic. Then, in brief but well-outlined chapters he takes up Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay, focussing on their leading social problems to provide a thumb-nail characterization. The Indian in Bolivia, the roto of Chile, the Negro in Brazil, the Uruguayan base for a national life of importance, the paradox of Paraguay, the relative influence of urban and rural areas, the lack of uniformity in the American scene, are among the subjects considered. Subsidiary to the country chapters are brief sketches of the key cities: La Paz, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Santiago and Valparaiso, Asunción, and Montevideo. The forces that weaken, even bankrupt, Europe are discussed, with an unhesitating assertion that America must and can assume leadership.

The general tone of the essays can hardly be labeled “penetrating” although the author succeeds in making them interesting. While the author in certain sections of the work has obviously been influenced by Keyserling, Ortega y Gasset, and Waldo Frank, he shows as well a capacity to comment intelligently upon their findings. In the preface, he states his purpose as that of bringing to the readers from neighbor-

ing lands as well as from his own "voces de patrias y voces de hombres." He has chosen his material well to accomplish this purpose.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

Hombres é Ideas en América: Ensayos. By AUGUSTO MIJARES. (Caracas: Escuela Técnica Industrial, Talleres de Artes Gráficas, 1940. Pp. 230. Bs. 4.)

This collection of historical interpretations is reminiscent of Blanco-Fombona's volume on the writers of the nineteenth century in Spanish America. There are, however, differences in the approach and purpose of the two Venezuelan critics. Mijares rejects the pessimism of Latin-American thought which derives from Europe. He places Sarmiento and Alberdi in the *européizante* group, not without some justification. In the American group of thinkers we find the Venezuelan-Chilean Andrés Bello and the Cuban José Martí. The longest as well as the most interesting essay of Mijares is devoted to José Martí. The essay on Bolívar emphasizes the provocative employment by the Liberator of the son of Agustín Iturbide as his secretary. There is little documentation but we have instead a stimulating point of view.

HARRY BERNSTEIN.

The City College, New York.

The Route of Columbus along the North Coast of Haiti, and the Site of Navidad. By S. E. MORISON. (*Trans. Amer. Philosophical Soc.*, n. s., XXXI, 1940. Pp. 238-285. \$1.50.)

In this paper the Commodore of the ketch *Capitana* continues his voyages in the track of Columbus and presents us with the most penetrating historical study that has yet resulted from these journeys. From the clear and readable text, the numerous maps and charts, and the handsome airplane photographs and other illustrations one has the sense of having visited vicariously the region in which the first Spanish—Professor Morison says the first European—settlement was made in the New World. On Christmas Eve, 1492, somewhere inside the sound to the east of Cape Haitien, the flagship *Santa María* was wrecked. Within the next week its timbers and stores were floated ashore, largely by the aid of the native king Guacanagari, and from them Fort Navidad was built and outfitted. Next to the actual discovery, this was the most significant event of the entire first voyage of Columbus.

In the monograph, aside from scores of lesser questions as to the route of Columbus, three main problems are posed: the site of the wreck, the site of Fort Navidad, and the site of the royal village of Guacanagari. The first can probably never be certainly identified unless, as seems doubtful after four and a half centuries, divers should sometime locate the coral-encrusted timbers of the *Santa Maria*. She doubtless went to pieces on one of three small reefs lying across the mouth of the sound, but among the three it can only be said that the middle one is the most probable.

Opposite the entrance to the sound is a three-mile sand beach, the nearest bit of land to the site of the wreck. At the eastern end of the beach is a salt estuary, and near this the settlement of Navidad was probably built. Excavations, as might be expected in the case of a wooden fort that was burned to the ground within six or eight months, have yielded no indication of the exact site.

Regarding Guacanagari's village, from which the whole population is said to have gone out in canoes to render assistance after the wreck, there seems to be a slight misapprehension. The main royal village, as the monograph observes, was located at or near Caracol, some eight or ten miles east of Navidad, around a large mangrove-covered point. A careful reading of the *Journal* of Columbus for this period will show that at the site of Navidad there was another native village, also under the sway of Guacanagari, at which he was temporarily lodged in a certain house during the emergency (*la casa donde estava aposentado*). Professor Morison confuses the references to these two villages as if they were one, and so reaches an erroneous site for the beach where Columbus staged an archery and artillery exhibition to impress the natives. This seems to be the only serious error of interpretation in the entire monograph. Space is lacking for the full presentation of the correcting evidence, which I hope to publish elsewhere.

WILLIAM JEROME WILSON.

Washington, D. C.

Estudios Indígenas. Contribución a la historia antigua de Venezuela.

By ARÍSTIDES ROJAS. Prólogo de Antonio Reyes. (Caracas: Editorial "Cecilio Acosta," 1941. Pp. 219. Bs. 8.)

This popular edition of *Estudios Indígenas*, originally published in 1877, makes available an authoritative work on early Indian civilization in Venezuela. Of particular interest are the essays on picture writing (*jeroglíficos*) and the Caracas Indians. The somewhat technical material on languages and the interlinear translations of the

Lord's Prayer from Spanish into the Caribe and other dialects should be of value to philologists.

WILLIAM H. GRAY.

The Pennsylvania State College.

La Habana: Apuntes Históricos. By EMILIO ROIG DE LEUCHSENBRING. (La Habana: Municipio de la Habana, 1939. Pp. 111.)

This volume by the City Historian of La Habana is a series of brief notes covering a wide range of topics relating to the more than three centuries of the city's history. It begins with the founding, relates various episodes of colonial history, and gives some data regarding more recent times. There are statements concerning such subjects as fortifications, city walls, churches, public buildings, theaters, markets, cemeteries, arsenals, and penal establishments. Attention is also given to government and administration, climate, population, education, and the patriotic contribution of the city during the struggle for independence. A final chapter describes the services which the municipality now renders. A dozen excellent photographs present an interesting and pleasing impression of the city of Habana.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Mujeres Chilenas. By MARTA ELBA MIRANDA. (Santiago: Editorial Nascimento, 1940. Pp. 150. \$0.50.)

This work is a popular primer of outstanding women of Chile—five of the colonial period, seven of the independence era, ten of the republic, and nine pertaining to the twentieth century.

The women discussed range from Inés de Suárez, mistress of Pedro de Valdivia, conquerer of Chile, to Gabriela Mistral, the greatest poetess of South America today. They include poetesses of convents; the wicked Catalina de los Ríos y Lisperguer; heroines of independence, like Javiera Carrera, La Sargento Candelaria, and Rosario Ortiz, who saved the life of General Cruz; the noted musician, Isidora Zerges de Huneeus; the first Chilean novelist and journalist, Rosario Orrego de Uribe; the philanthropist, Juana Ross de Edwards; the forerunner of the feminist movement, Mariana Cox Méndez de Stüven; the sculptress, Rebeca Matte Bello; the pioneer in medicine, Cora Mayers; the sociologist and novelist, Elvira Santa Cruz Ossa; the great educational authority and psychologist, Amanda Labarca; and the continentally distinguished prose writer, Marta Brunet.

The reviewer regrets that the account of each woman is so short; however, the work should be translated into English.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

Berkeley, California.

New Directions in the New World. By ADOLF BERLE. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1940. Pp. xi, 141. \$2.00.)

More than half of this volume is concerned with the problems of finance and income distribution within the United States. The rest deals with inter-American relations, especially the Lima Conference of 1938. The whole is written with imagination and eloquence. The central theme of the Pan-American portion is coöperative peace and collaborative defense. Some sections were written before 1940 and are somewhat more isolationist in tone than they would have been if composed later. Since that time the author has shifted his position. It is rather difficult to describe the contents of the book within brief compass. Briefly, it may be observed that the author writes movingly of the ideals of liberty, equality of opportunity, tolerant coöperation within and between nations, and of the potentialities of a saner world. At the same time he argues convincingly that the so-called "new order" in Europe is old, very old. One example of it he finds fully described in the Old Testament of the Bible.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

Western Hemisphere Defense [The Reference Shelf, Vol. 14, No. 5]. Compiled by E. R. Nichols. (New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1941. Pp. 398. \$1.25.)

Barriers to World Trade. By MARGARET S. GORDON. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. Pp. xii, 530. \$4.00.)

The articles collected in *Western Hemisphere Defense* were designed to serve as reference material for intercollegiate debaters on the debate subject of the season: Resolved, that the Nations of the Western Hemisphere should enter into a permanent union.

Mr. Nichols introduces the articles with an analysis of the proposition, and of the nature of "permanent union," of the faults and merits of the statement of the question. The difficulties confronting an editor who wishes to put together a volume of this kind in effective fashion are many: first, the quality of writing in this field is poor and the choice is very limited; second, the subject is one in which day-to-day developments age publications rapidly, so that an article may

constitute a real contribution in July, 1940, and be rather ineffective five or six months later; third, articles written for purposes ranging from mass education to speeches by important policy-makers and specialized analysis for serious students are not easily molded into a unified effective presentation.

Western Hemisphere Defense is divided into three main sections: military, economic, and political. The articles are very uneven in value and quality. Thus, on the military question, there are rather broad presentations by George Fielding Eliot and Hanson Baldwin, coupled with sketchy items from *Newsweek*, United Press, and *United States News*. In the economics section, Professor Alvin Hansen's well-known article in *Foreign Affairs* is included, with a number of other statements on the major economic problems, some of them quite poor. In the section on the political implications of hemisphere defense there are articles by Duncan Aikman, W. R. Castle, Freda Kirchwey, and Carleton Beals, but the selections do not by any means represent the best product of these very competent writers.

After examining the material on the economic defense of the hemisphere, and on the nature of the approach that might be necessary should the war go against the democracies, the reader will find it useful to turn to the sober discussion of commercial policy in Margaret S. Gordon's *Barriers to World Trade*. While there is nothing on Latin-American developments in this book that is particularly new, it is a competent study of the network of international trade restrictions of the 1930's which should help the specialist in Latin-American problems to see Latin-American exchange controls, import quotas, tariff policies, etc., in the broad setting of world developments. The book was published under the auspices of the Bureau of International Relations of Harvard University and Radcliffe College.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

Good Neighbors: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Seventeen Other Countries. By HUBERT HERRING. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. xi, 381. \$3.00.)

This volume is the work of an experienced and sympathetic observer and student of Latin America. It deals primarily with present-day conditions in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile, with useful comments on the rest of the Latin-American countries, especially Mexico, which the author has observed closely for many years. Based largely on field surveys in these four countries, the book is written with historical

perspective. The task of surveying the whole of contemporary Latin America and of searching the historical background for facts and forces affecting the present was too great to be accomplished by a single writer within the time and space at the disposal of Mr. Herring. For Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Mexico, this book should be required reading in the United States; and the portion of it devoted to the other sixteen nations may be safely recommended. It is the best work of its type that the reviewer has seen. The style is superb; the tone is realistic, at times, perhaps, a little cynical. The volume contains what many citizens of the United States desire to know in respect to the neighbors of the Far South: the resources of these three nations, how the people live and earn their living, how they are governed, what their leaders are thinking, and their attitude in the present world crisis.

J. FRED RIPPY.

University of Chicago.

The Coming Struggle for Latin America. By CARLETON BEALS. (New York: Halcyon House, 1940. Pp. 472. Index. \$1.39.)

This book has already been widely publicized. Therefore, no criticism is called for here. Chapters thirteen and fourteen on the Lima Conference were added in 1939 and the fifteenth and sixteenth in this last edition, printed in 1940. Chapter XV, entitled "Spanish Fascism in America," revives all the forlorn but pompous rhetoric which greeted Dewey in Manila. The abuse of the United States in the Franco press is indeed strikingly like that of a few editorials appearing in such papers as *El Globo* in the heat of the war with Spain. The utter absence of integrity in the quotations about the United States which Mr. Beals has collected from the Spanish press indicates an anti-American campaign which will be difficult to combat. Even renegade publicists will find it difficult to get on the same plane. The Spanish Fascist press, in making its increasingly bitter and degraded attacks against the United States, ignores the strongest American sect, the twenty million Catholics in the United States, and attacks all Americans as Protestant apostates grovelling after money, land, and power. In the last chapter Mr. Beals has been able to show that Fascist-Nazi propaganda, instead of abating, has perhaps been accentuated by the outbreak of war in September, 1939. His solution for the problem of totalitarian menace is to offer "a broader economic foundation" for coöperation and to permit Latin-American states "to share equally with us the larger freedom that we seek to preserve."

Hombres de la Independencia de Nicaragua y Costa Rica. By ARTURO AGUILAR. (León, Nicaragua: Tip. La Patria, 1940. Pp. 248.)

This small volume contains a brief account of the independence of Central America, the text of the Declaration of Independence of September 15, 1821, and sketches of seventeen individuals who had rôles in Nicaragua during that eventful and turbulent period. Most of the biographies are brief, indicating the lack of material with which to tell a more complete story. Those most fully treated include Manuel Antonio de la Cerda, Juan Argüello, Cleto Ordoñez, Father Pedro Solís, and Colonel Crisanto Sacasa. Dr. Desiderio de la Cuadra, a Franciscan friar and later Vicar of the diocese of Nicaragua and Costa Rica, is presented to the reader through his lengthy poem describing the attack on Granada by Cleto Ordoñez on January 16, 1823.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Compendio de Historia Económica y Hacendaria de Costa Rica. By TOMÁS SOLEY GÜELL. (San José, Costa Rica: Editorial Soley y Valverde, 1940. Pp. 200.)

In 1926 Tomás Soley Güell published *Historia Monetaria de Costa Rica*, of which an edition was rapidly exhausted. In *Compendio de Historia Económica y Hacendaria de Costa Rica* the author has broadened his field to sketch in the main areas of economic history and at the same time has brought his monetary account up to date.

The author organizes his material chronologically, by successive administrations. While this gives the work a rather chopped-up aspect that is not conducive to a smooth portrayal of developments in individual fields, he has selected a number of periods—1850, the turn of the century, 1928, 1940—for which he attempts a “face of the country” description. This device deserves a more thorough use if another edition of the book is published.

Moving rapidly through a review of the pre-colonial and colonial economies, the author shows the slowness of development until coffee emerges as a major crop, the railway is built to the Atlantic, banana production increases, the road to the Pacific is completed, and population grows. He traces the passing of cacao as a major crop, the emergence of coffee and banana cultivation, the eventual regaining of importance of cacao production, the unfortunate circumstances of the first foreign loans and subsequent experience with foreign capital.

The work suffers generally from overcondensation, but where the author permits himself adequate space, as in the case of recent treas-

ury, banking and monetary history, he handles the material very well. In some instances, as in the case of the Banco de Seguros, he presents just enough material to excite the interest of the reader in having a fuller account.

SIMON G. HANSON.

Washington, D. C.

Toponimia de la costa patagónica y fueguina. By MARTÍN RODRÍGUEZ. (Buenos Aires: Imprenta y casa editorial "Coni," 1940. Pp. 126. \$3.50 m/n.)

"There can be no complete description of a territory without any explanation of the origin of and the reason for the names of the geographical accidents found in it." With the foregoing as his text, Señor Rodríguez presents, first, a forty-eight-page historical synthesis briefly describing each of the many expeditions to Argentine Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego made in colonial times, the scientific explorations of the nineteenth century, and the several hydrographical investigations made by the Argentine navy in the present century. The toponymy itself, following an alphabetical order, occupies an even fifty pages and gives valuable data on some three hundred or more geographical points. In addition, the work is embellished by a set of seven sketch maps, a three-page list of ships employed in various expeditions, and chronological and alphabetical lists of those expeditions.

Toponimia de la costa patagónica y fueguina belongs in the "must" list reference works for any scholar seriously investigating historical or geographical aspects of the Far South of America.

LEWIS W. BEALER.

Berkeley, California.

Who's Who in Latin America. A Biographical Dictionary of the Outstanding Living Men and Women of Spanish America and Brazil. Second edition. Edited by PERCY ALVIN MARTIN. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1940. Pp. xxxii, 558. \$5.50.)

In a work so completely pioneer in nature it was natural that Dr. Martin should have been eager to fill the "unfortunate lacunae" of the first edition (*The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XVI, 383-385). This problem has been grappled with in the form of four hundred new biographies, some of the latter also biographies of persons who have achieved prominence since 1935. One can thus well believe that he has spared no effort "to bring these sketches up to date." The new edition also registers an important advance on the score of

accuracy, because the first round of correspondence must not have been satisfactory on all scores.

Since this kind of publication cannot be discontinued, time will remedy many of the rough edges which Dr. Martin has tried so hard to smooth off. The biographies, for example, could be increased 25 per cent without doing violence to standards of achievement. But financial problems, and the lack of response from some correspondents, undoubtedly have restrained the editor who, it is certain, would be among the first to admit the desirability of expanding the size and usefulness of what he has begun.

Dr. Martin must be strongly thanked and commended for a work involving so much attention, labor, and usefulness.

Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1940. By FERMÍN PERAZA SABAUSA. (Havana: Ediciones Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1941. Pp. 138. \$1.00.)

A comparison of this fourth issue of the *Anuario Bibliográfico Cubano, 1940*, with its predecessor shows that the literary output of Cuba in 1940 was decidedly less than in 1939. The entries under books and pamphlets for 1940 were 411 against 462 in 1939. Under conferences, there were 203 against 647, and under reviews and periodicals, 38 against 82. The general arrangement of the material in the volume remains the same, and no annotations or evaluations are given for the items entered. Certain changes, however, have been introduced. Books and pamphlets are entered with full titles twice, first, alphabetically by authors and second, classified under subjects. The subject headings in general follow those used by the Pan American Union in *El Libro Americano*. A question might be raised as to whether the entries under subjects, together with the alphabetical list of authors which is included, would not make the second entry of full titles rather superfluous.

A new section entitled "Bibliografía Martiana" is introduced which lists all materials relating to José Martí. History of Cuba, history in general, and international relations are well represented. This publication has achieved a position of great usefulness to librarians and scholars interested in Cuba and its intellectual progress.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

The National Archives.

Guia das Bibliotecas Brasileiras. Edited by DR. AUGUSTO MEYER. (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Nacional do Livro, Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1941. Pp. 241.)

The Instituto Nacional do Livro of the Ministério da Educação e Saúde has issued a *Guia das Bibliotecas Brasileiras* as No. 2 of its Coleção B2 (Biblioteconomia). Dr. Augusto Meyer, Director of the Instituto, has based this first guide on answers returned by 778 Brazilian libraries to questionnaires that he had begun to send out in 1938. Information given, arranged by states, covers federal public, municipal public, unofficial public, federal semi-public, unofficial semi-public, federal private, municipal private, and unofficial private libraries. Under each title are given details of address, date of founding, number of volumes, plant, hours, number of readers, specialization (if any) of the collection, personnel, maintenance, publications, method of cataloguing and classification, and the name and term of office of the librarian. Fullness of detail varies with the library mentioned; the account of the Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, for instance, covers six pages. In some cases, the libraries have mentioned the methods used to preserve their books against insects and decay.

A. MARCHANT.

Instituições culturais e de educação superior no Brasil. Resumo histórico. By PROFESSOR ERNESTO DE SOUZA CAMPOS. (Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação, Imprensa Nacional, 1941. Pp. 728. Illus.)

Part I consists of eight chapters: chap. 1, Historical résumé of medical education in Brazil; chap. 2, Faculties and schools of medicine, pharmacy, odontology, and veterinary, with a list of student and alumni associations; chap. 3, Engineering schools, with a similar list; chap. 4, Faculties of law; chap. 5, Faculties of philosophy, with a description of the Escola de sociologia e política; chap. 6, Schools of fine arts and music; chap. 7, Schools of agriculture and of commerce; and chap. 8, Universities, with descriptions of the Conselho nacional de educação and the Casa do Estudante.

Part II treats of cultural institutions. Chap. 1, Libraries, both public and private; chap. 2, Museums, including the Botanical Garden; chap. 3, Academies and medical societies, dating from the Academia Nacional de Medicina, 1829; chap. 4, Historical institutes, beginning with the Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, 1839; chap. 5, The Instituto da Ordem dos Advogados, 1843; chap. 6, Scientific institutes, beginning with the Instituto Agrônômico de Campinas,

1887; chap. 7, Engineering associations; chap. 8, Academies of letters, 1894-1896; chap. 9, Miscellaneous institutions.

Chap. 10 is an invaluable list of Brazilian institutions for higher education or for scientific or cultural purposes, including those that have passed out of existence as well as those still in operation. The list is arranged according to type of institution, state, and town. Chap. 11 is a bibliographer's delight, a list of scientific and technical periodicals published in Brazil. There is an index by chapters, one by subjects, one by proper names, and one of the illustrations.

As a manual of information on its subject, the volume fills a long-felt want. The historical summaries following each title are succinctly arranged as *efemérides*. In addition to giving addresses, names of the present directors or staff, and similar information, each section gives a short account of the publications of the bodies discussed.

A. MARCHANT.

Últimas Aventuras. By FIDELINO DE FIGUEIREDO. (Rio de Janeiro: Empresa A Noite [1941]. Pp. 391. 20\$000.)

At first glance this book appears to have no place in the review section of an historical quarterly. It contains the reflections of a literary critic who through long years of reading, thinking, and writing has attained to considerable wisdom. Now toward the end of life he presents his "last adventures"—or "latest." *Últimas* may be "last," "final" or it may be "latest," "most recent"—in the realm of ideas. And he does so with the point of view of one who goes out to watch the sunset. A literary journal would be more appropriate.

This reviewer does not think so. In theme and treatment the book constitutes pertinent reading for the historian. Dr. Figueiredo belongs to the generation of those old enough to have participated in the war of 1914 and still young enough to act and think in the war of 1939. The disillusionment and depression of his generation reared in the Utopias of pre-1914 and the ideals of 1914-18 prompt the writing of this book. The author is convinced that it is the task of those who like him have experienced both catastrophes to re-establish the true values of life, to discover and present them to a world swept by war ideology. He turns to literary criticism as the means by which he may penetrate to the ultimate values which he seeks.

Through essays on a variety of subjects, some historical, some more strictly literary, he develops the thesis presented in his conclusion: life is measured by its culture, by the degree of "dis-animalization," by the ability to evaluate between the animal, the material and the spiritual, the more enduring. The ability to evaluate

correctly is derived from intelligence, not the limited intelligence of the practical materialist but the indestructible intelligence of Shelley's Prometheus which engenders wisdom.

The essays themselves are evidence of the wisdom garnered by Dr. Figueiredo during a rich and varied career. The volume supplements his recently published *Aristarchus*, in which he presents his theory of the function of the critic. In *Ultimas Aventuras* he practices what he has preached.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

Duke University.

Notas Sobre la Pintura y la Escultura en Venezuela. By JOSÉ NUCETE-SARDI. (Caracas: Coop. Artes Gráficas,* 1940. Pp. 61. Bs. 4.)

As we follow Sr. Nucete-Sardi's excellent account of the development of painting and sculpture in Venezuela, we find much to remind us of the progress of these arts in other American countries.

It is strange that there should have been so little Pre-Columbian art of importance in Venezuela. But from early Colonial times there was a quantity of fine religious art, both native and imported from Spain, in the larger towns and important religious centers. There was also an interesting school of native portraiture very like the colonial portraits of New England, Brazil, or Mexico.

A more independent National movement developed from the period of the Liberator. A number of art schools were established under government patronage, and Venezuelan artists turned to depicting the heroic events of their own history.

Many Venezuelan artists, like other Americans, have been trained in Europe, and her art continues to reflect current trends in European style, but there is an increasing interest in indigenous themes and subjects on the part of contemporary artists. A growing number of these painters and sculptors are American-trained.

Sr. Nucete-Sardi disclaims any critical intentions in his foreword, but his wish to provide a clear account of the history of art in Venezuela has been happily realized. This book also provides an imposing catalog of Venezuelan artists, whose work we could all wish to know at first hand.

LOREN MOZLEY.

University of Texas.

* Address orders to the author, 2a. Lateral de la Avenida del Ejército, El Paraíso, Caracas, Venezuela.

The Earth and the State. By DERWENT WHITTLESEY. (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1939. Pp. xvii, 618. \$3.75.)

Historians always feel the need of economics and geography in any sweeping interpretation of history over any considerable portion of the earth's surface. Mr. Whittlesey offers such a geographical aid in this book, devoting pages 403-503 to Latin America and the border country. His point of view makes folk-migrations far more intelligible than mere detached historical documents would be likely to do. It is probable, however, that in some other matters such as the strong emphasis here placed upon the drawing power of precious metals would be modified, if not gainsaid, by those same historical documents. In any event this study would be provocative as well as complementary to most historians of Latin America.

Gómez: Tyrant of the Andes. By THOMAS ROURKE. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1941. Pp. xvi, 320. \$2.75.)

Man of Glory: Simón Bolívar. By THOMAS ROURKE. (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1941. Pp. xi, 385. \$2.75.)

The literary merits of these two volumes which appeared in 1936 and 1939 respectively have already been discussed in the *Review* (the former in Vol. XVII, pp. 88-89, and the latter in Vol. XX, pp. 606-608). The chief reason for redirecting attention to them is that they have both been reprinted this year and boxed together. Bought this way, they sell for \$5.00. The publishers have produced very handsome and attractive exteriors for this dual edition.

Colección Estrada. Edited by JULIO NOÉ and a consulting committee. (Buenos Aires: Angel Estrada y Cía., 1939-1940. Vols. X-XII. \$1.50 m/n each.)

This library of Argentine culture (*The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXI, 126-127) continues with three new volumes. They include some volumes useful for historical reading. The three new ones are:

Mariano José de Larra (Fígaro), *Artículos Escogidos*. Selection, preface, and notes by Avelino Herrero Mayor. Vol. XI. Pp. xiii, 175.

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, *Páginas de los Comentarios Reales*. Selection, preface, and notes by Julio Noé. Vol. X, Pp. xiv, 343.

Juan María Gutiérrez, *Estudios Histórico-Literarios*. Selection, preface, and notes by Ernesto Morales. Vol. XII. Pp. xiv, 229.

Of these last items the works of Gutiérrez are most welcome. There are many editions of, and selections from, the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. However, it is little realized that some of the most exacting historical papers ever published in South America—those of Juan María Gutiérrez—are hidden away in such places as the early issues of the *Revista del Río de la Plata*. In this selection particular attention should be called to the paper on Rivadavia (pp. 99-162).

The Borgia Pope: Alexander VI. By ORESTES FERRARA. Translated by F. J. SHEED. (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1940. Pp. vi, 455. \$3.55.)

This is the English translation of the Spanish work on this subject by Orestes Ferrara, who was for many years Cuban ambassador in Washington. The notes are run in the back of the book chapter by chapter as is nearly always done by authors and publishers who have some hope that improved appearance of the page will attract and not repel the popular reader. The printing and binding are of fine quality. Unfortunately for Hispanists, the book is so completely devoted to the movements of Alexander VI in the vortex of ecclesiastical politics, and so preoccupied with the historical charges against this celebrated Borgia, that the partition of the New World is neglected.

Evolución política del pueblo mexicano. By JUSTO SIERRA. Second Spanish edition. (Mexico: La Casa de España en México, 1940. Pp. xii, 480.)

This second Spanish edition of this celebrated one-volume history of Mexico carries a generous preface by Alfonso Reyes. It was prepared for the Casa de España en México by the Fondo de Cultura Económica, Ave. Madero, 32. The binding is paper but the printing is excellent.

Hombres é Ideas en el Perú. By JORGE GUILLERMO LEGUÍA. Prologue by GONZALO OTERO LORA; foreword by EMILIA ROMERO. [Colección Biblioteca América.] (Santiago de Chile: Editorial Ercilla, 1941. Pp. 173. \$16.00 m/n.)

In collaboration with Jorge Basadre, and through the intercession of Luis Alberto Sánchez with the Editorial Ercilla in Santiago, this last posthumous volume of Jorge G. Leguía's writings appears. It is cheaply published, but it contains some sections quite worthy of

examination. Among the fourteen papers here printed those on Carlos Wiesse, Carlos A. Romero, and Ricardo Palma—all men of his own *ambiente*—are important documents. The bio-bibliography of Don Carlos A. Romero is a work of much technical value. Had Leguía lived, he doubtless would have left most of these papers in his files as “inedited miscellany,” but some of the chapters will contain the type of information about figures both living and dead which we expect to find in Mendiburu’s *Diccionario biográfico del Perú*.

Tratados Vigentes de Chile. Edited by the Diplomatic Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (Santiago de Chile: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1935-1939.)

It might be useful to students of foreign affairs and diplomatic history to know that the Chilean government has issued an edition of the treaties in force to which it is a party. The documents have been published piecemeal and each document has its own complete pagination from one upward. Thus there is no consecutive pagination, but there is an index in the last of the volumes which are numbered A, B, C, D.

Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands. By DAISY RECK. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1939. Pp. viii, 341. \$2.50.)

Roundabout South America. By ANNE MERRIMAN PECK. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1940. Pp. x, 353. \$3.00.)

South American Roundabout. By AGNES ROTHERY. Illustrated by CARL BURGER. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1940. Pp. viii, 242. \$2.00.)

The West Coast of South America. By SIDNEY A. CLARK. (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1941. Pp. xiii, 358. \$3.00.)

I Like Brazil. By JACK HARDING. (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941. Pp. 335. \$3.00.)

Neighbors to the South. By DELIA GOETZ. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941. Pp. xv, 302. \$2.50.)

This list of books will serve to focus the growing volume of popular writing about South America. On the technical side they are excellent samples of book-making, characterized by striking and artistic initial letters and headpieces. Miss Rothery’s book is illustrated by pen sketches only. All the rest carry photographs—those of Miss Peck and Mr. Clark in great profusion. These books are mostly by women writers of travel books and fiction. Not one of them is a work of

historical investigation, although Miss Goetz does not disdain history in the interest of the lighter touch. Mr. Harding has collected many odd and impressive facts about Brazil which he seeks to pass on in a highly personal and easy manner. The books will be of interest to historians a generation hence in connection with the phenomenon which produced them.

Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario. Edited at the University of Mexico. (Mexico: Ediciones de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1940. Vols. XI-XIX.)

The specific items of this collection are as follow :

Poesía Indígena de la Altiplanicie. Selección, versión, y introducción y notas de Ángel María Garibay K. Tomo XI. Pp. xxi, 212.

Crónicas de Michoacán. Selección, introducción y notas de Federico Gómez de Orozco. Selección, prólogo y notas de Manuel Romero de Terreros. Tomo XII. Pp. xvii, 212.

Relaciones Históricas. By CARLOS DE SIGÜENZA Y GÓNGORA. Tomo XIII. Pp. xxii, 176.

Los Empeños de una Casa. By SOR JUANA INÉS DE LA CRUZ. Prólogo de Julio Jiménez Rueda. Tomo XIV. Pp. xxv, 195.

El Pensador Mexicano. By J. JOAQUÍN FERNÁNDEZ DE LIZARDI. Estudio preliminar, selección y notas de Agustín Yáñez. Tomo XV. Pp. liii, 181.

El Gallo Pitagórico. By JUAN BAUTISTA MORALES. Estudio preliminar y selección de Mauricio Magdaleno. Tomo XVI. Pp. xxxi, 192.

Musa Callejera. By GUILLERMO PRIETO. Prólogo y selección de Francisco Monterde. Tomo XVII. Pp. xxii, 203.

Aires de México. By IGNACIO M. ALTAMIRANO. Prólogo y selección de Antonio Acevedo Escobedo. Tomo XVIII. Pp. xxii, 180.

Antología Histórica. Selva y Mármoles. By JOAQUÍN ARCADIO PAGAZA. Introducción, selección y notas de Gabriel Méndez Plancharte. Tomo XIX. Pp. xxxvii, 182.

Three or four sets of books of general culture of this type are being published, or have recently been published, in Latin America. The *Biblioteca de Cultura Peruana*, a set of thirteen volumes, and edited by Ventura García Calderón, appeared in Brussels in 1938. In its conception it is very similar to the *Biblioteca del Estudiante Univer-*

sitario of Mexico. In Argentina the *Colección Estrada* (*The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXI, 126-127) of one hundred volumes fits into the same category, although it includes general classics. Publication in the *Biblioteca del Estudiante Universitario* reached Volume XI by the end of 1939 and the volumes published in 1940 range from Volume XI to XX. Many of the volumes published in 1940 are mere anthologies of Mexican verse, although the valuable *Crónicas de Michoacán*, the *Relaciones Históricas* of Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora (*The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXI, 87-89), *El Pensador Mexicano* of J. Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi include historical works increasingly difficult to obtain in the original editions.

All the volumes are bound alike in paper and follow a uniform format. The printing, however, leaves something to be desired. The type, not being securely locked, sometimes presents irregular letters and wavy lines.

NOTES AND COMMENT

THE LOST FIRST LETTER OF CORTÉS

If we needed any evidence that Cortés wrote a letter to Charles, the king of Spain, about July 10, 1519, giving an account of his expedition to that date, it is supplied to us in his second letter of October 20, 1520, in which he quotes, as he says, whole passages from it. The fate of that letter is one of the great puzzles of the history of the conquest of Mexico. It was carried to Spain by the agents of the army, Montejo and Puertocarrero. They reached Seville November 5, 1519, and saw the then emperor-elect early in the following year. Undoubtedly Cortés' letter was delivered to him at that time together with that of the *Regimiento* of Vera Cruz, the instructions to the agents, which have both been preserved, and numerous other documents now lost. In looking for Cortés' letter William Robertson, the English historian, had the archives in Vienna searched and was rewarded by finding a copy of the letter of the *Regimiento*. Cortés' letter was not there, nor has it since come to light.

We know that in the letter Cortés detailed his own operations without describing those of his predecessors, Francisco Hernández de Córdoba and Juan de Grijalva, probably because these were duly set forth in that of the *Regimiento*. There is no evidence that either Peter Martyr or Fernández de Oviedo ever saw the letter. Indeed, that they even heard of it is doubtful. I have believed for a long time that López de Gómara possessed a copy of it and incorporated all or the greater part of it in his *Conquista de México*. Gómara took his facts wherever he found them if he thought them trustworthy and, consequently, in his narrative of the progress of the expedition we find incorporated many incidents taken from the *relación* of Andrés de Tapia, who was in Spain while he was writing the *Conquista*. In fact, I regard it as highly probable that Tapia wrote the *relación* at Gómara's or Cortés' request. Gómara's account seems too long and too detailed to have been written from the verbal recollection of Cortés or any other participant.

I recently discovered a trace of the missing letter. In 1605 Fr. José de Sigüenza, a member of the Hieronymite order, published in Madrid the *Tercera parte* of the history of the order. Fr. José had in his possession or had access to the original documents concerning the

appointment and proceedings of the three Hieronymite fathers who were sent to Santo Domingo in 1516 to take charge of the government of the islands. It will be recalled that Bartolomé de Las Casas, who says he was responsible for their appointment, went out with them, became dissatisfied with their management of affairs and returned to Spain to have them removed. None of this will be found in Fr. José's account; his reasons for their return are quite different. He prints the queen's instructions to them and an account of their proceedings in Santo Domingo, the petition to Carlos of September, 1517, by Fr. Bernardino de Coria, one of the Hieronymite fathers who had returned from the island to petition for permission for them to return to Spain. Charles acceded and the fathers returned in the early part of 1520. A number of other documents are referred to which the author says were kept in the Sista in Toledo. These were mostly letters written by the governors to Spain and the answers.

The author then continues:

Estando entendiendo en aquellos negocios dieron aquella felicissima licencia a Hernando Cortes, como a Capitan y armador de las carauelas y flota, con Diego Velazquez, para que fuesse a descubrir a Iucatan y la nueva España, mandando que fuesse con el vn tesorero y vn veedor, para cobrar el quinto del Rey. Algunos han querido dezir que se deue mucha parte de esta gloria a Diego Velazquez,¹ porque dio principio a todo lo que se descubrio de la nueva España, y que le sucedio con Cortes lo mismo que a Diego Colon con el, porque el se quedó con la Isla de Cuba, o Fernandina, a despecho de Colon, y Cortes con el cargo de la nueva España, a despecho de Diego Velazquez. No entendieron bien el discurso de las cosas los que esto dixeron, porque aun que es verdad que Francisco Hernandez de Cordoua, y Iuan de Grixalua, en dos viajes, descubrieron mucha parte de aquella costa, antes que fuesse Cortes, y que armaron de compañía Cortes y Velazquez, y de compañía se pidio la licencia a nuestros religiosos Geronimos, capitulando entrambos lo que auian de hazer delante escriuano publico, despues de puro couarde, o codicioso, y por otros respetos y cautelas, se boluio atras Diego Velazquez (permission diuina) porque ni quiso ayudar mas a la flota que armaua Cortes, ni quisiera que llegara a terminos de partir. Cortes, que tenia otro animo que Velazquez, y mas altos pensamientos, busco dineros prestados, con que *compró dos naos, seys cavallos y muchos vestidos* [*italics mine*]. Siguironle muchos, y publicó claramente que yua por si, antes que saliesse de la ciudad de Santiago con la licencia de los religiosos Geronimos, sin ningun respeto ni recurso, a Diego Velazquez. Al fin se halló en Guanigango con quinientos Españoles, con onze nauios, y con esto acometio a conquistar un nuevo mundo, el año de mil y quinientos y diez y nueue, a ocho de Febrero, y pudo dezir quando se hizo a la vela lo de Cesar quando pasó el Rubicon (hechada es la suerte); ya estan dichas sus hazañas por otros. Lo que yo pudiera añadir aqui de nuevo, es la relacion que el mismo embio al Rey don Carlos, aunque en nombre de todos sus compañeros, desde la ciudad de Veracruz, donde declara largamente su viage, y como el fue el primero que pudo con entereza dar verdadera noticia de la tierra firme, y prouincia

¹ Oviedo, lib. 17, cap. 20. [Sigüenza's note.]

de Iucatan; *porque la tengo en mi poder*, y juntamente con ella, la memoria y copia del presente, o como ellos dizian, el rescate primero que embio de oro, joyas, piedras, y plumas, que sino fuera algo apartado de mi intento, fuera de algun gusto, porque no le escriuió ningun Historiador de aquellos tiempos, y se ve aqui la verdad dello.²

The italics are mine. Surely he had in his hands the lost letter of Cortés and a list of the presents. In saying that no historian had written about it, presumably the list of presents, he displayed a woe-ful ignorance. The list of presents had been printed by López de Gómara and Peter Martyr and probably by others. If he told the truth, which can hardly be doubted, of a respectable member of the most distinguished religious order in Spain, he was not acquainted with Gómara's *Conquista de Nueva España*. If we take this to be the fact, how can we account for the appearance in Gómara's text of almost the exact statement Fray José makes? I quote from the Vedia 1852 edition of the *Conquista*.³ After speaking of the contract between Cortés and Velázquez, dated October 23, 1518, Gómara continues:

Volvió á Cuba Joan de Grijalva en aquella mesma saxon, y hubo con su venida mudanza en Diego Velazquez, ca ni quiso gastar mas en la flota que armaba Cortés y el ánimo con que gastaba; pensar que se le alzaría, como había él hecho Cortés, ni quisiera que la acabara de armar. Las causas porque lo hizo, fueron querer enviar por sí á solas aquellas mesmas naos de Grijalva; ver el gasto de Cortés y el ánimo con que gastaba; pensar que se alzaría, como había él hecho al almirante don Diego. . . .

. . . ca él ya tenía licencia de los padres gobernadores; y así, habló con sus amigos y personas principales, que se aparejaban para la jornada, á ver si le seguirían y favorecerían. Y como sintiese toda amistad y ayuda en ellos, comenzó á buscar dineros; y tomó fiados cuatro mil pesos de oro de Andrés de Duero, Pedro de Jerez, Antonio de Santa Clara, mercaderes, y de otros; con los cuales *compró dos naos, seis caballos y muchos vestidos* [italics mine].

This is precisely the same statement we have found in Fr. José's work and is one I have never seen elsewhere. During the conquest and afterward Cortés made numerous statements about the financial arrangements for his expedition. He mentions borrowing money from Duero, and others, but never the purchase of the ships, horses and apparel. It is evident that Gómara found this statement in Cortés' first letter, the same source from which Fr. José obtained it. To my mind this is further substantial evidence that Gómara used Cortés' first letter.

² *Historia de la Orden de San Gerónimo*, II, 110 (in *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XII).

³ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XXII, 300.

When or how did the Hieronymites obtain the letter or more likely a copy of it? I understand from Fray José's statement that the documents about the Santo Domingo episode were in the Sisla, the Hieronymite convent in Toledo. In 1592 the Inquisition brought a process against Fray José and while the trial was going on in Toledo he lived in the Sisla. If the letter was among those documents, it is probable that Cortés had sent a copy of it to the governors of Santo Domingo, as he was no doubt obliged to do under the terms of his license. So far as we know no vessel went to the islands from New Spain until September or October, 1520, when Cortés sent Alonso de Ávila and others to Santo Domingo for supplies. The Hieronymites had left before this, but Cortés could hardly have been aware of it. If Ávila carried the letter, he may have forwarded it to Spain, or he may possibly have carried it there himself later. Another possible solution presents itself. In 1593 Philip II finished work on the Escorial which was destined to be the home of the Hieronymites. He lived there himself and put his library in it. Fray José was the librarian, probably until his death in 1606. Perhaps the Cortés letter was there. The library still contains a large number of manuscripts, but if the letter was ever there, it has long since disappeared. I can suggest two other possible explanations in this connection. First, that Charles V took the letter to the Hieronymite monastery at Yuste and thus in some way it came into the hands of the fathers; secondly, that on Gómara's death a copy of it was found among his papers. These papers were taken by Honorato Juan, the bishop of Osma. On his death, shortly afterward, Don Carlos, the son of the king, Felipe II, took the papers which may afterward have been deposited in the Escorial.

Unfortunately, the author does not say more plainly where this document was, than that it was in his *poder*. *Poder* is ambiguous. It means that it was in his possession but he may have meant at the time of writing and that he himself did not own the letter, which I consider the most probable. I have not had an opportunity to consult his book or otherwise some further indication might be found in it about the sources of his information. I have taken my account from the reprint made by José Toribio Medina in his *Biblioteca Hispano-Americana*, No. 508. Strangely enough, Medina does not seem to have noticed this particular passage as he made no reference to it either in his notes or in his account of the Cortés letters published in the first volume.

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A NOTE ON JOSE MILLA, OFFICIAL HISTORIAN OF GUATEMALA

José Milla y Vidaurre, the government-appointed historian of Guatemala and the father of the Guatemalan novel, was born in 1822. An orphan from the age of ten, he was reared by relatives of his mother, and later, by Canon José María Castilla.

In 1845 José Milla performed his first great literary service for Guatemala by collecting and having printed in one volume the *Tradiciones de Guatemala* and other poems of his friend José Batres Montúfar, who died the preceding year.

Although he realized that Guatemala afforded a very limited reading public, and that, as he himself said, a Guatemalan author took the risk of writing for no public but himself,¹ he decided to make literature his profession. From 1846 to 1871 Milla was editor of the Conservative newspaper *La Gaceta*, and his novels and sketches of customs were establishing his reputation as one of Guatemala's foremost men of letters. Under the Conservative dictatorship of General Rafael Carrera, between 1840 and the latter's death in 1865, Milla held different government offices. For a time he served as minister of foreign affairs, and he later became a deputy in the national assembly.

The Conservative regime was overthrown by the revolution of June, 1871, and the following month Milla went into voluntary exile. For over two years he traveled in the United States, France, Italy, Belgium, and England. However, the Liberal Party was duly appreciative of the enjoyable books with which Milla had enriched his country's literature. On his return to Guatemala Milla was welcomed by the Liberal president, General Rufino Barrios, and commissioned by the government to write a history of Central America from the time of the conquest to the end of the colonial period. The first volume, beginning with the Pre-Columbian Indian civilizations and ending with the year 1542, was published in 1879. Milla did not live to complete his history. On the night of September 30, 1882, he died of angina pectoris. A few hours before his death, although he was in pain, Milla finished correcting the proofs of the last pages of the second volume.² This volume, which covers the period from 1542 to 1686, was published posthumously in 1882.

¹ José Milla, *El Canasto del Sastre*. Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala City, 1936.

² Antonio Machado, introduction to Volume II of José Milla's *Historia de la América Central* (Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala City), 1937, p. 6.

The eminent Spanish scholar and critic Menéndez y Pelayo terms Milla "one of the most prolific and notable writers of the republics of central America."³ His contributions to Spanish-American literature include a legend in verse, a series of humorous sketches of customs,⁴ five historical novels, and three volumes of books of travel.

Three of his historical novels, *La Hija del Adelantado*, *Los Nazerenos*, and *El Visitador*, which deal with colonial life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are openly romantic; *La Historia de un Pepe* and *Memorias de un Abogado*, which are laid in the late colonial and early national periods, give evidence of Milla's rather unsuccessful attempt to adapt his technique to the tendencies of the realistic school. As works of art these novels are strange combinations of the convincing and the unconvincing. Their great defect is the romantic and incredible manner in which Milla uses coincidence after coincidence to affect the lives of his characters. Yet, each of these characters is in himself convincing, and remains true to his own personality. That is to say, the characters exhibit plausible reactions to implausible situations.

Despite their overly intricate plots, these novels revealed to Milla's government his intimate knowledge of the chronicles of the friars and the conquistadores, and they paved the way for his being selected to write the *Historia de la América Central*. One of the most learned Central Americans of the nineteenth century, Milla was exceptionally well qualified for the task. His style was "smooth-flowing, correct and elegant . . . clear, pleasing, and pure."⁵ Since his youth Milla had devoted much of his spare time to historical research, and he had published articles embodying some of the data which he was to incorporate in his history.⁶ He was an accomplished linguist, a student of world literature, and a connoisseur of the fine arts. His long experience in government affairs and his extensive travels had given him a mature and impartial sense of perspective.

With the exception of his failure to include a formal bibliography, an omission for which he compensates by numerous footnotes, Milla's method is essentially in accord with modern conceptions of the technique of research. He is extremely thorough in the accumulation and

³ Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de la Poesía Hispano-americana* (9 vols., Librería General de Victoriano Suárez, Madrid, 1911), I, 205.

⁴ John L. Martin, "José Milla's Sketches of Customs," *The Marshall Review*, IV (1940), 25-27.

⁵ Carlos Bonilla, prologue to *La Hija del Adelantado* (Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala City, 1936).

⁶ See Milla's *Libro sin Nombre y Artículos Varios* (Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala City, 1935), pp. 181-287.

the careful weighing of details. The one hundred seven pages that comprise the description of the civilization of the Mayas include a lengthy study of their sacred book, the *Popol Vuh*. Milla then devotes fourteen pages to a brief consideration of Spain in the fifteenth century. Having given the reader the backgrounds of the two civilizations which were to come into deadly conflict, he proceeds to what is virtually a year-by-year account of the exploration, conquest, and colonization of Central America.

For his source material Milla used the chronicles, legal documents, letters, and archives of the colonial epoch, and the works of the Spanish and Central-American historians who had preceded him. In addition, he consulted every foreign authority who could throw additional light on his problems; notable among the latter are Prescott, Washington Irving, and the eminent French authority on the languages and culture of the Mayas, the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, with whom Milla was personally acquainted. With a scholarly desire for truth Milla painstakingly tears down the legendary elements which adorned and cluttered the historical writings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Whenever his sources are in substantial disagreement, Milla states in the body of the text the version that he considers the most probable and the reasons for his choice, and gives in extensive footnotes the other versions of the incident in question.

Milla utilized in his history the skill in character study that he had shown in his novels. Although the drama of historical events is his main concern, he records it in a leisurely manner, taking time fully to reconstruct the personalities of the leading characters. With his customary impartiality he reveals all their known virtues and vices, and at the same time, he systematically disproves the undeserved honors and the unfair accusations of popular tradition.

After his account of the death of Alvarado, Milla comments on him as follows:

Unwarranted abuses and cruelties are and will always be worthy of reproach, and those that Alvarado and his companions committed were not few. Endowed with a passionate and violent character, that leader exceeded in this respect the other commanders of expeditions in America, to whom, on the other hand, he can be compared in daring, in persistence, in activity, and in military astuteness, and whom he surpassed in the grandeur of his plans and in the importance of the enterprises which he undertook. These qualities, united with a dashing appearance, with his distinguished and chivalrous manner, and even with his very vices (gambling, women, and extravagance) make the conqueror of Guatemala seem more like the hero of a novel than an historical personage.

His imagination filled with ideas for personal aggrandizement and for new conquest with which to extend even more the immense dominions of his father-

land, he who had escaped from so many dangers met his death as it should not have been, through a chance accident. . . .

Alvarado had subjected the greater part of the country and founded the capital of the province which included at that time, in addition to what constitutes today the Republic of Guatemala, the territory now occupied by El Salvador, that of the Mexican states of Soconusco and Chiapas, and to which there had recently been added the province of Honduras. Respected by the Spaniards and feared by the natives, the prestige of his name seemed to be, whether he was absent or present, the nucleus of the new colony.⁷

The most recent edition of the *Historia de la América Central* is that published by the Tipografía Nacional, Guatemala City, the first volume in July and the second in September of 1937. Since this edition is under the patronage of President Jorge Ubico, Milla is still, in a sense, an official historian of Guatemala.

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SPECIAL INSTITUTES OF LATIN-AMERICAN STUDIES

The year 1941 has perhaps been unprecedented in the number of institutes and conferences of Latin-American affairs which it has seen. The Pan-American Union in a news release on January 1 announced sixteen inter-American Conferences as scheduled for 1941. Those of some historical and literary interest included the fourth annual convention of the Inter-American Bibliographical and Library Association, the Third General Assembly of the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History (March 3-April 8, Lima), Inter-American Writers Conference (April 14, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico), and the Third International Conference of Professors of Ibero-American Literature (August, New Orleans).

Here in the United States private institutes have continued to flourish. The Latin-American Economic Institute, whose board of directors is composed of William P. Everts, Edward W. Garside, Stuart Chase, John F. Normano, R. Roy Thompson, and A. Curtis Wilgus, was established in October, 1940, by a group of sponsors whose names appear for the most part among the directors. Dr. John F. Normano, director of research, and other members of the Institute are planning a program of investigation and have projected the preparation and publication of two volumes, *The Economic Defense of the Western Hemisphere* and *New England, War and Latin America*. The society

⁷ *Historia de la América Central*, I, 553-554.

began its official life with a broadcast of its aims to Latin America. Since that date it has held various conferences on timely questions such as the "Economic Ideas of Dr. Getulio Vargas," and "Pan-Americanism and Economic Defense."

Beginning last January 23 a summer school for South Americans was held at the University of North Carolina like the one held in San Marcos de Lima for North American students. The Connecticut College at New London held a Latin-American Institute last June 23-28. The program was filled with a judicious mixture of academic and non-academic names. Distinguished names from the political and business world included William S. Culbertson, former ambassador to Chile, Conrad Traverso, Argentine Consul General in New York, and Mr. David E. Grant of the Pan-American Airways System. Among the university men were Preston E. James, Professor of South American Geography at the University of Michigan, and Dana G. Munro, Director of the School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University. A similar affair was conducted by the University of Kansas City last January 10-12 with a roster of lecturers which included such names as those of Lic. Ramón Beteta, Undersecretary of Foreign Relations of Mexico, and Professor D. M. Phelps, University of Michigan specialist on marketing problems in Latin America.

More distinctly promotional in character is the Latin-American Organization for Continental Solidarity incorporated in New York this summer to promote western continental solidarity and the defense of the western hemisphere. The National Education Association has also been active in the advocacy of good-neighbor education. Acting upon the stimulus of a pamphlet published by the Educational Policies Commission entitled *For These Americas*, the Department of Secondary Teachers of the National Education Association set up a Committee on Inter-American Relations to promote the study of Latin-American history and to serve as a clearing house for contacts between American and Latin-American teachers.

Abroad the Unión Inter-Americana del Caribe has scheduled cultural as well as political events. The Segunda Exposición y Feria del Libro Venezolana was held in Caracas from November 29 to December 17, 1940. The success of the first exposition in 1939 has provided much impetus to this work of librarians and bibliophiles in Venezuela. Libraries and learned publications in the United States have observed this movement, which offers so much to clear up international bibliographical difficulties, with the greatest satisfaction. The University of Havana organized its first summer session for 1941, offering a general course for Cubans and foreigners, partly in Spanish and partly

in English. Dr. Roberto Agramonte is the director of the school and Dr. Luis A. Baralt the secretary. Aside from the twenty-three members of the regular faculty of the University there were ten visiting professors. The only North American among these was Dr. Robert E. McNicoll of the University of Miami. A newly organized college, the Mexico City College, offered courses this summer in a number of select fields. The University of Chile, from January 2 to 31, 1941, offered a wide variety of courses catering to students from the United States.

PROFESSIONAL NOTES*

Professor William Spence Robertson is retiring from teaching, and is traveling in Mexico, where he will gather material for a biography of Agustín de Iturbide.

Lewis Hanke spent two months during the summer in Rio de Janeiro, Santiago, and Mexico City discussing with publishers the program for the translation of certain outstanding works. All fields of literature and science are to be considered in the project.

Hugh Heyne Smythe has left for British Honduras, where he plans to make a study of "Black Carib Culture" with special reference to British Honduras.

William Baker Bristol has gone to Argentina to prepare a work on Pan-Hispanism since 1900.

Leon Franklin Sensabaugh has gone to Rio de Janeiro to work on the subject of United States-Brazilian relations since 1889.

M. Margaret Ball plans to attend the Río de la Plata Conference, after which she will spend some months in studying Hispanic-American international relations.

France V. Scholes has taken a year's leave from the Carnegie Institute of Washington, D. C., to teach at the University of New Mexico during the current academic year. He will offer courses principally in historiography.

VISITORS FROM HISPANIC AMERICA*

Senhor Sergio Buarque de Hollanda, an official of the Brazilian Ministry of Education, arrived in the United States from Rio de Janeiro in June. Senhor Buarque de Hollanda is also chief of the Publications Section of the Instituto do Livro of Rio de Janeiro, and is the author of *Raizes do Brasil*.

* All notes marked with an asterisk have been contributed by Chester L. Guthrie of the National Archives.

Senhor Luiz Jardim, an official of the Brazilian Ministry of Education, arrived in the United States from Rio de Janeiro in June. Senhor Jardim is connected with the Historical and Artistic Conservation Service in Brazil and is a well-known artist, author, and journalist.

Señorita Magdalena Petit, of Santiago, Chile, arrived in this country in August on invitation extended by the Department of State. She is the author of a number of works, among which is the historical novel, *Diego Portales*.

GUGGENHEIM LATIN-AMERICAN FELLOWSHIPS, 1941

Since the establishment of the Latin-American Exchange Fellowships by Senator and Mrs. Simon Guggenheim in 1929, the Guggenheim Foundation has awarded 128 fellowships with stipends of \$257,000 on this fellowship program. Almost an equal number of citizens of the United States have worked in Latin America during the same period. Many of these appointments have been instrumental in the promotion of historical studies. This year, from the unprecedentedly large total of twenty fellowships awarded to Latin Americans, a majority of the Latin-American fellows will dedicate themselves to science—nine in medicine, four in engineering and physics, three in botany, one in law, one in education, one in art, and one, Mr. Ramón J. Sender, writer of Mexico City and refugee from Spain, will work in history upon the subject of the Spanish-Indian Amalgam following the Spanish conquest in the Southwestern part of the United States.

Although the inclination has been to name Latin Americans interested in the exact sciences, the American fellows appointed to study in Latin America come frequently from the humanities and the social sciences. This year fourteen Americans were appointed under this plan, while two painters, one composer, and two writers will also work in Latin America. Those whose projects will interest historians are: Dr. Paul Theodore Ellsworth, of the University of Cincinnati, who will study the economic adjustment of Chile from 1920 to 1940; Dr. Lewis Hanke, Director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress, who will continue his studies of the institutional aspects of Spanish occupation of the New World; Dr. Eduardo Neale-Silva, professor of Spanish in the University of Wisconsin, who will work on the Spanish-American social novel, with particular reference to the works of José Eustasio Rivera; Miss Ruth Reeves, textile designer of New York, now in Quito, will continue her studies of the ancient and

modern textiles of South America; Dr. Edward Holland Spicer, anthropologist of the University of Arizona, will study the influence of contacts with other cultures upon the Yaqui Indian communities of Mexico and Arizona; Dr. Isabel Truesdell Kelly, anthropologist of the University of California, who is now in Jalisco, Mexico, will make certain ethnographic and archaeologic investigations in Southwestern Mexico.

FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY OF AMERICAN ARCHIVISTS*

On October 6 and 7 the Society of American Archivists held its fifth annual meeting at Hartford, Connecticut. Of chief interest to Hispanists was the symposium on "Guides to materials for Latin American history." Samuel F. Bemis, Yale University; Clarence H. Haring, Harvard University; Roscoe R. Hill, The National Archives; and Myron Burgin, Hispanic Foundation, Library of Congress, led the discussion. The program considered was threefold: (a) guides to materials in the United States relating to Hispanic America, (b) guides to materials in Hispanic America relating to the United States, and (c) guides to materials in Hispanic America relating to the history of Hispanic America. Other discussions were held on archival administration and economy.

The Society of American Archivists is a national professional body, organized "to promote sound principles of archival economy and to facilitate coöperation among archivists and archival agencies." The Society carries on the work done by the Public Archives Commission of the American Historical Association from 1899 to 1936.

SURVEY OF INVESTIGATIONS IN PROGRESS*

The Hispanic Foundation in the Library of Congress, with the aid of a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, has undertaken the preparation of a record of investigations in Latin-American social science and humanities in the United States and has begun to prepare this record for publication. Alexander Marchant of the Hispanic Foundation is the editor in charge of the project.

Questionnaires have been sent to about 1500 persons in the United States who have been known to be interested in one phase or another of Latin-American studies. The questionnaire has requested information on the name, age, and permanent address of the investigator; on

his principal field of research and his publications in this field; and a statement of whatever investigation or investigations he may have in progress, with an estimate of the length of time needed for completion.

Investigators will probably be listed alphabetically without regard to the nature of their work. A series of indexes (by discipline, by country, and by subject matter) will make available information entered under names. Special emphasis will be laid on the index to work in progress.

CHANGE OF TITLE OF THE OFFICE OF THE COÖRDINATOR OF COMMERCIAL AND CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS*

In August, after one year's activities, the title of Nelson A. Rockefeller's office was changed to the "Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs." It was felt that the shorter title was more serviceable than the previous one of the "Office of the Coördinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics." No change in functions was involved in the change of name.

STIMULATION OF TEACHING OF SUBJECTS RELATING TO HISPANIC AMERICA*

The Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs, through its Education Committee, in collaboration with the United States Office of Education, is preparing a list of teaching aids, such as books, bibliographies, pamphlets, motion pictures, and radio programs, for distribution to teachers in schools in every section of the United States. The Committee is also sponsoring the preparation and distribution of 250 traveling exhibits of aids in the teaching of Central and South American subjects. The work is being done by the Office of Education.

An appeal has been made to all State departments of education, to all superintendents of schools in districts of 10,000 or more population, and to all directors of summer schools, to support the program for the teaching of Hispanic-American subjects. Similar communications have been addressed, through the Executive Secretary of the National Education Association, to all state teachers' associations.

GUIDEBOOK TO HISPANIC AMERICA*

A two-volume tourist guide to Hispanic America is being prepared under the sponsorship of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs.

The guidebook is being edited by Earl Parker Hanson. In addition to giving full information on such matters as travel opportunities, regional attractions, transportation facilities, and local accommodations, the book will stress culture, history, art, architecture, and archeology. Volume I will deal with the following countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Uruguay. Volume II will cover Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Haiti, The Dominican Republic, Honduras, Panama and the Canal Zone, Cuba, Guatemala, Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Colombia.

The advisory council assisting in the preparation of the guide consists of Leo S. Rowe, Director of the Pan American Union; Francisco Hernández, Chief of the Pan American Union Travel Division; Lewis Hanke, Director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress; Ray Platt, Director of Hispanic Studies of the American Geographical Society of New York; Philip Ainsworth Means, archeologist and author; and Waldo G. Leland, Director of the American Council of Learned Societies.

A NEW PUBLICATION IN PERUVIAN MEDICAL HISTORY

The Sociedad Peruana de Historia de Medicina has begun the publication of its *Anales* (Vol. I, No. 1, 1939). This publication will appear periodically and all reviews of related disciplines are invited to establish exchange relations with it. Peru has the story of coca, quinine, and a provocative medical history, to stimulate publication in the history of Peruvian medicine which was actively promoted some thirty years ago by the Peruvian pioneer in the treatment of mental diseases, the late Dr. Hermilio Valdizán.

TRADE WITH HISPANIC AMERICA*

During the first five months of 1941 the United States purchased \$434,500,000 worth of goods—almost as much as during the whole year of 1938. In May alone purchases from Central and South America were \$95,000,000, or more than sixty per cent greater than May, 1940, and double the imports for May, 1939.

Trade with the East Coast of South America, which has long been especially dependent upon European markets, has been greatly increased. During the first five months of 1941, the imports from Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil increased \$77,000,000 over the 1940 figures.

These data were released by the Office of the Coördinator of Inter-American Affairs to correct recent statements of the Berlin Institute

for Business Research that the Good Neighbor policy was a failure because the United States had failed to absorb Latin-American surpluses resulting from loss of European markets.

REDUCTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL POSTAL RATE ON BOOKS*

In order to facilitate the exchange of published literature in the Western Hemisphere, an agreement has been signed for a reduction in the book postal rate between the United States and Hispanic America, according to an announcement made by the Post Office Department.

The new book rate is five cents per pound for all packages regardless of weight. The old rate was six cents for packages of one pound or less, and twelve cents for heavier parcels.

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